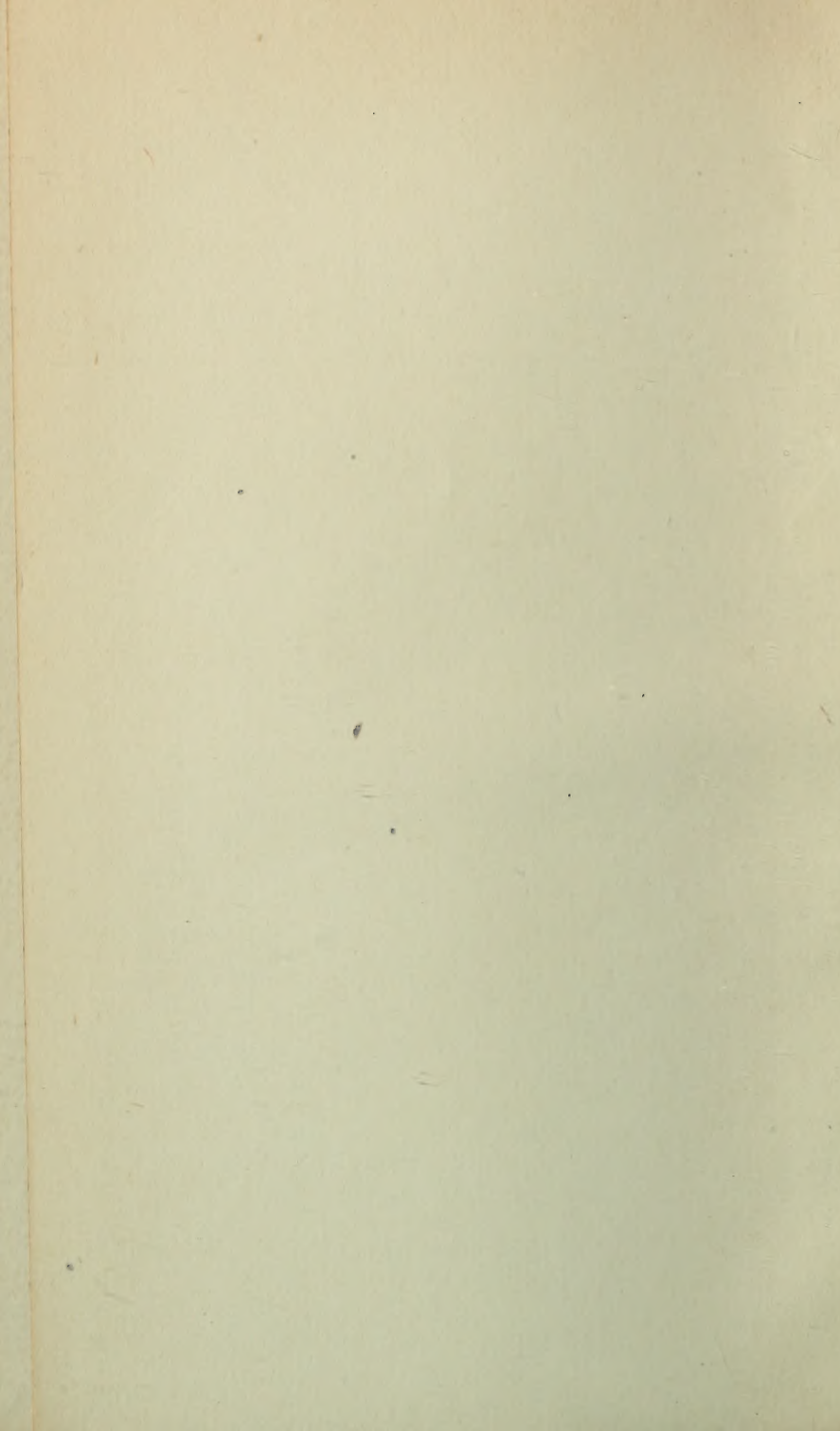




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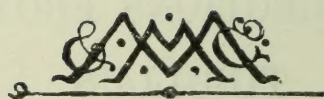
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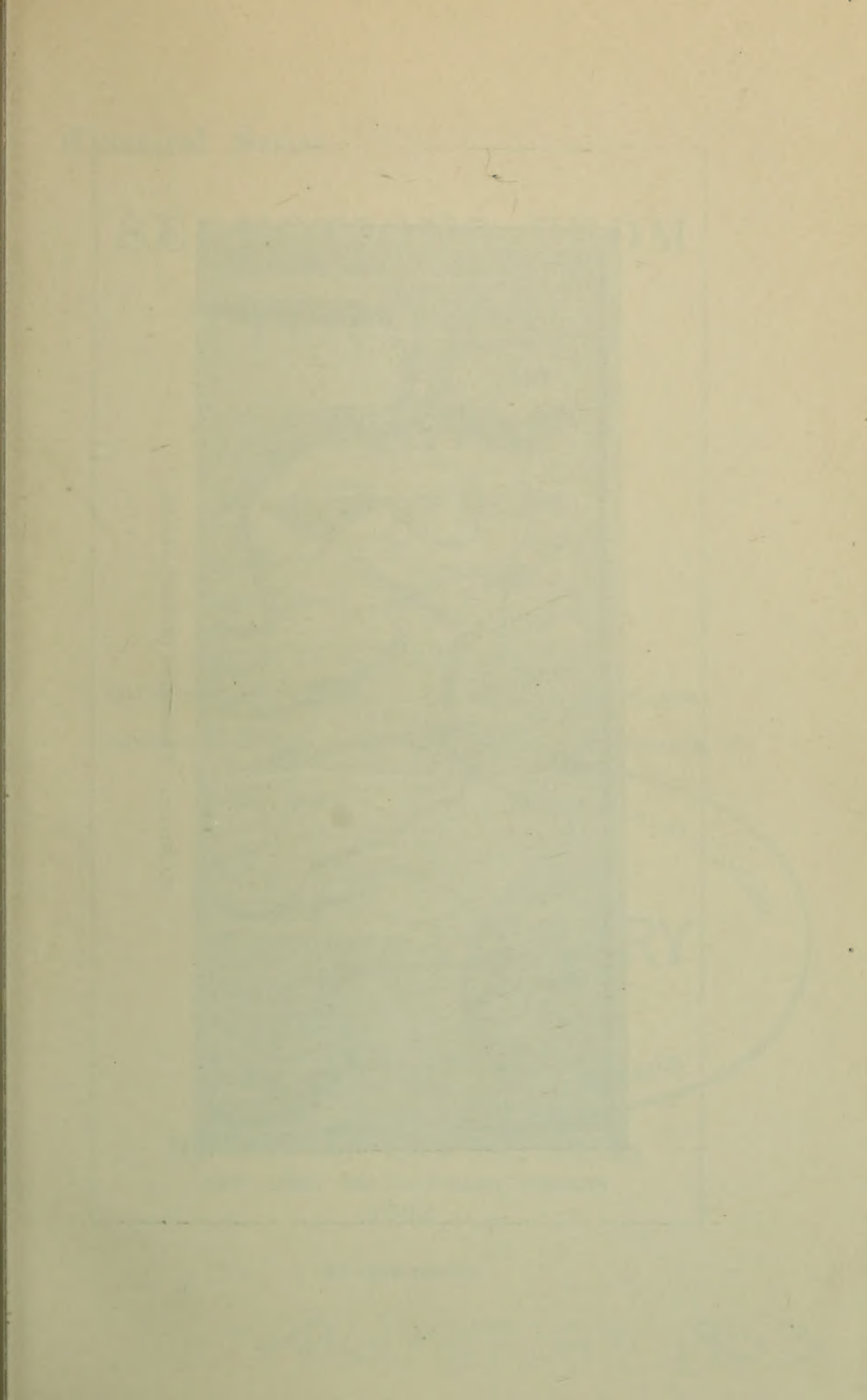
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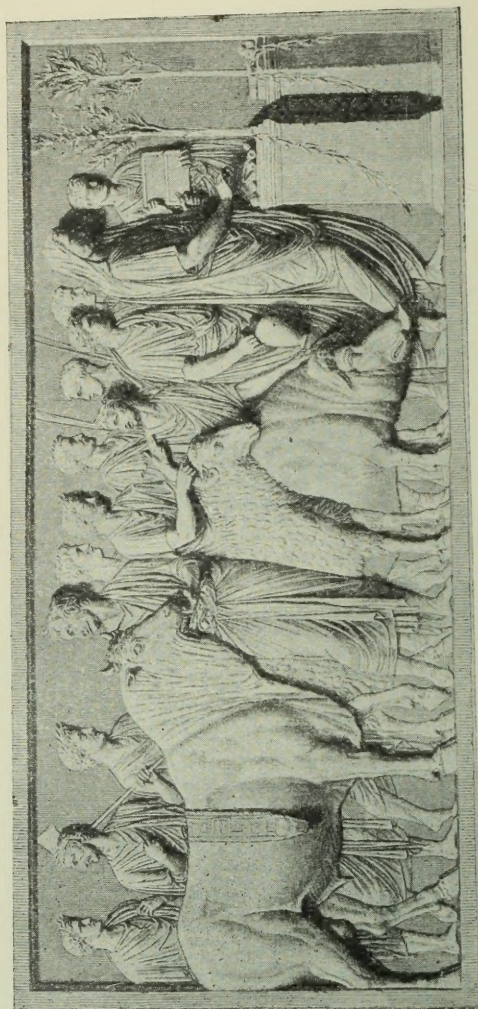




SELECTIONS FROM  
TIBULLUS







SACRIFICIAL PROCESSION (SVOVETAVRILIA).



Classical Series

# SELECTIONS FROM TIBULLUS

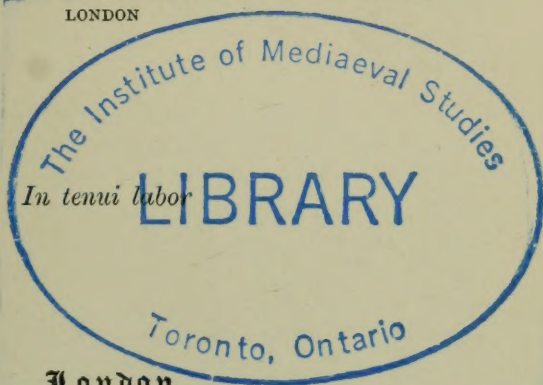
AND OTHERS

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TO  
E. P.





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## PREFACE

As the publication of a complete English edition of Tibullus appears to be unlikely for at least some time to come, an effort has been made in the preparation of these selections to meet the wants of two different classes of readers. The simplicity of the thought and diction of Tibullus adapts itself to the needs of those whose knowledge of Latin is comparatively in an early stage ; while on the other hand when we go below the surface there are enough literary and critical difficulties connected with his poems and those attributed to him to engage the attention and tax the resources of maturer scholarship. It has accordingly been my aim in the explanatory notes to give as far as possible brief and simple comments upon the text that I have adopted, reserving the points that required longer or more advanced discussions to be dealt with in appendices. Translation into English I have avoided as much as possible as undesirable for the one class of readers and unnecessary for the other. The illustrations have been added for the benefit of younger readers in accordance with a view of classical education now happily becoming more common ; but they may prove to be of use to others at a time when our leading tragedian in the classic style confuses a shuttle and a spindle. In their selection I have been most liberally helped by Prof. A. B. Cook.

In the unsettled passages of the text I have

generally preferred an uncertain conjecture to a certain corruption, because there is no mischief so easy to effect or so difficult to repair as to vitiate the feeling for language and sense in the young. The reading of the manuscripts in such cases is always faithfully recorded. As in the *Select Elegies of Propertius* (in this series), I have employed *u*, not *v*, in Latin words, after first ascertaining from experienced teachers that the correct spelling would be no hindrance to students.

My book of course owes much to the work of previous scholars upon Tibullus: for illustrative matter most to Dissen, Heyne, and their predecessors. In the textual and literary portions chief use has been made of the editions of Mueller, Baehrens, and Hiller, supplemented by the dissertations and discussions, mainly by German scholars, which have appeared in the last quarter of a century, amongst which may be mentioned the papers or pamphlets by H. Belling, F. Leonhard, H. Magnus, R. Ullrich, J. Vahlen, and F. Wilhelm. I have had before me also G. G. Ramsay's and F. Jacoby's selections. J. B. Carter's *Roman Elegiac Poets* and K. P. Schulze's *Römische Elegie* 1902, which contains a very useful bibliography, did not come into my hands till the bulk of my commentary was written. My best thanks are due to E. P. for much help in the toil of preparation.

I cannot hope to have removed all the oversights and inequalities which scanty leisure and frequent interruptions must have left in this book, and I should be very grateful to any reader or critic who brings them under my notice.

J. P. P.

*September* 16, 1903.



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# INTRODUCTION

## CHAPTER I

### TIBULLUS

*mourful poem*  
OF all the forms of literature which Rome imported from Greece, the Elegy had next to the Ode the shortest life. *Roman Elegy.* A bare half century covers the activity of the four elegiac writers who are mentioned by Quintilian. Ovid, the last of the four, had long been dead when this critic wrote, and after him we know of none. By the time of Quintilian the elegiac couplet developing, as would appear, the character which the witty and heartless Ovid had impressed upon it, had broken with sentiment and become the proper vehicle of the epigram. And hence we need feel no surprise that when Quintilian's contemporary Statius had occasion to write an elegy, whether on a person or a parrot, it was not the elegiac but the hexameter metre that he selected for his task.<sup>1</sup>

Quintilian thus sums up in judgment on the merits of the four Roman Elegists :—

In elegy also we contest the supremacy of Greece. Its most finished and tasteful writer seems to me *Tibullus*, though

---

<sup>1</sup> Compare Statius *Silvae* V. i with Ovid *Amores* III. ix, and *Silvae* II. iv with *Amores* II. vi.

some prefer *Propertius*. *Ovid* is more licentious, *Gallus* harsher than either.

Elegia quoque Graecos prouocamus cuius mihi tersus atque elegans auctor maxime uidetur Tibullus : sunt qui Propertium malint : Ouidius utroque lasciuior sicut durior Gallus. —*Inst. Or.* 10. 1. 93.

The only materials which we have for writing the life of the poet who, in the judgment of Quintilian and it may be in that of the *Tibullus' Life* majority of his countrymen, stood at the —*Materials.* head of the elegiac poets of Rome, consist of scattered allusions in the two books of his which have come down to us, an epitaph<sup>1</sup> and an elegy upon his death, and a short anonymous biography, the text of which is corrupt, the age unknown, and the credibility doubtful.

The 'epitaph' by Domitius Marsus and the elegy by Ovid are printed at the end of these selections. The anonymous life which is *The 'Vita Tibulli.'* preserved at the end of the Ambrosian and other manuscripts is as follows :—

Albius Tibullus, eques *regalis*,<sup>2</sup> insignis forma cultuque corporis obseruabilis, ante alios Coruinum Messalam or[atorem] *ingenu*<sup>2</sup> dilexit cuius et contubernalis Aquitanico bello militaribus donis donatus est. hic multorum iudicio principem inter elegiographos obtinet locum. epistolae quoque eius amatoriae quamquam breues omnino utiles sunt. obiit adolescens ut indicat epigramma superscriptum.

It is just conceivable that this life is based upon one written by Suetonius, the biographer of the twelve Caesars, who lived in the first half of the second century A.D. For his 'Memoirs of distinguished men' (De uiris inlustribus) included notices of poets, some of

<sup>1</sup> This epitaph may be a fragment from a longer poem : see the notes.

<sup>2</sup> On the reading of these words see the Critical Appendix.



which, as those of Terence and Horace, are still extant. In no case, however, is its author a contemporary witness; and the value of his account depends entirely on the sources from which it was drawn.<sup>1</sup>

The elegy, on the other hand, is the work of a contemporary; but it would be a mistake to ascribe to it high biographical value. *Ovid's Elegy.*

Ovid was not personally acquainted with Tibullus<sup>2</sup> he was only twenty-four when Tibullus died, and the elegant tribute to his memory is a pure work of fancy, in which there is nothing that might not have been gathered from reading the poems which have come down to us.<sup>3</sup>

It appears then that a sketch of the poet's life must rely exclusively on the indications which are furnished by the poems themselves.<sup>4</sup>

That the poet's name was *Tibullus*, we know from himself. His *praenomen* is unknown. His gentile name is generally supposed, on the *Name.*

<sup>1</sup> For more on this subject see Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> 'Vergilium uidi tantum, nec auara Tibullo | tempus amicitiae fata dedere meae,' Ovid. *Trist.* 4. 10. 51 sq. Ovid was born in 43 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> This I believe was first pointed out by R. Ullrich.

<sup>4</sup> It is obvious that these indications must be very carefully sifted. But this does not mean that they should be treated with the uncritical scepticism which has been displayed towards similar evidence by two recent writers upon Propertius, one of whom goes so far as to suggest that when Propertius says his mistress Cynthia had dark brown hair, long tapering hands, and a lofty stature, (II. 2. 5 sq.) his statement should be received with distrust as he may have been thinking of some other woman! A mode of erasing the life from the poems of Tibullus now much affected is to ascribe everything we can to imitation of the Greek. This pastime can be pursued at will; for the Greek 'originals' are lost.

authority of the grammarian Diomedes and the *Vita*, to have been *Albius*, but there are weighty reasons for doubting this statement, and not less for questioning his identification with the *Albius* to whom Horace addressed an ode and an epistle.<sup>1</sup>

The birth of Tibullus may be probably placed between the years 55 and 50 B.C. : he cannot have been much over thirty at his un- *Date.*  
timely death in 19.

Ovid says that he was second in the series of the four elegiac writers Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius and himself.

successor fuit hic tibi, Galle, Propertius illi :  
quartus ab his serie temporis ipse fui.

*Tristia* 4. 10. 53 sq.

Gallus was born in 70 and killed himself in 27. He was writing love poetry in 39 ; but must have written little after 31, when he was engaged in active service till his disgrace and death. The words of Ovid are not to be taken to imply any great interval of time between the successive poets. He had begun to recite his own poems before the death of Tibullus, as we can infer from *Tristia* l.c. 57-60 ; and Propertius and Tibullus were undoubtedly writing at the same time. It is quite possible that they were acquainted, and they may have heard each other recite.<sup>2</sup>

Like Virgil, Propertius, and the panegyrist of Messalla, Tibullus lost the greater part of his estate in the confiscations of the civil *Circumstances.*  
wars. But enough was left, or restored, to put him

<sup>1</sup> Carm. I. 33, epist. I. 4 : see Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> This would perhaps furnish the best explanation of the coincidences which we observe from time to time in the thought and diction of the two poets, for which see below p. xxv.

above the reach of want.<sup>1</sup> His father was dead : but he had a mother and sister still alive, and they apparently survived him.<sup>2</sup>

It seems clear that Tibullus had seen some military service ; the *Life* indeed says that he was decorated (p.xvi., above), and the most natural explanation of I. i. is that in it the poet says farewell to war and devotes himself to peace, while in the companion poem, the last in the same book, he contemplates with unfeigned reluctance the prospect of serving again. But the evidence that he accompanied his friend, the distinguished orator and statesman M. *Friendship with Messalla.* Valerius Messalla, in his successful campaign in Gaul, between 30 and 28 B.C.<sup>3</sup>, is not so strong as could be desired.<sup>4</sup>

On another and probably a later occasion, Tibullus accompanied his friend on a journey to the East : but fell ill and had to stay behind at Corcyra (I. iii. [2] ).

<sup>1</sup> I. i. [1] 27 *sqq.* 41 *sq.* 77 *sq.* [The poems of Tibullus are cited primarily according to the division into three books. The figures in thick type are the numbers of these selections.]

<sup>2</sup> I. iii. [2] 5 *sqq.* Ovid *el.* [26].

<sup>3</sup> The exact date is unfortunately still undetermined ; see *Classical Review*, 1903, pp. 115 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Apart from the *Life* it rests upon the traditional reading in I. vii. 9 (on which see the notes and introduction)

non *sine me* est tibi partus honos ; Tarbella Pyrene  
testis et Oceani litora Santonici

where it is said that Tibullus claims 'in proud words' a share in the achievements of Messalla. This ill-placed egotistical assertion of himself in a poem which was intended to honour his patron is as inconsistent with the modest and retiring disposition of Tibullus as it is with the terms of reverence with which he elsewhere speaks of Messalla ; *e.g.* I. v. [3] 33 *sq.* note, II. i. [7] 33 *sqq.* The conjecture of Baehrens *sine Marte ibi* gains considerable support from the parallel which is quoted in the note.

His forebodings of death were however not to be realized till a few years later. In the year of Messalla's triumph B.C. 27, he was certainly in Rome, and wrote a poem in honour of the occasion (I. vii. [5]). Another proof of his intimate friendship with Messalla (*Messalla meus* he calls him) is to be sought in his longest and most ambitious poem, II. v. [11], which celebrates the admission of Messalla's son Messalinus to the college of *quindecimviri*, which had the custody of the fateful Sibylline books.

Of other friends we only know of two: CORNUTUS, a young married man, addressed in II. ii. [8], a birthday poem, and II. iii. [9], who *Other Friends.* appears to have been a member of the Sulpician gens with which Messalla was connected by the marriage of his sister with Seruius Sulpicius: and MACER, a poet we cannot identify with certainty, whose departure for the wars is referred to in II. vi [12].<sup>1</sup>

We should be glad to think that Virgil and Tibullus were friends. They had much in common and Tibullus, like Propertius (II. 34), seems to have been acquainted with the progress of the great epic poem, to which unmistakable allusion is made in II. v. 39 and following lines.

Of the possible attachments of Tibullus only the two that are signalized in Ovid's elegy on his death concern us here: his love for *Delia and Nemesis.* DELIA, the heroine of Book I., and his love for NEMESIS, the heroine of Book II. Tibullus, like Propertius, renamed his mistresses from goddesses. The real name of *Delia* was *Plania*, as we know from Apuleius, and the reasons for the selection of this

<sup>1</sup> If we accepted the conjecture *Valgi* for *ulgi* at I. x (6) 11 Valgius Rufus, a friend of Horace who was consul in B.C. 12 and who himself wrote elegies, would be a third.



pseudonym are clear.<sup>1</sup> But why the name of the goddess of Divine Vengeance was chosen for the second one we cannot tell.<sup>2</sup> It has been ingeniously suggested that it was to signify that the new love would be a retribution for the faithlessness of the old. If so, readers of the second book will see how sadly the omen was falsified.

Of the station and life of Delia we know but little. The Planii are an unknown and probably a plebeian family. A Roman lady, like *Delia*. Catullus' Lesbia, Delia was not.<sup>3</sup> She had a mother alive who appears to have traded on her daughter's charms and of whom Tibullus speaks now with affection and now with bitter contempt.<sup>4</sup> At one time Delia appears to be living alone, as at the time of her illness, at other times we hear of a husband.<sup>5</sup> A knowledge of the facts would doubtless resolve these perplexities, but mere conjecture is powerless. One thing is clear: Delia, whether single or married, was not capable of fidelity, either to her poet or her husband: and in the end this incapacity proved fatal to the connexion.

In his second attachment Tibullus was even more

<sup>1</sup> Apol. 10 'accusent Tibullum quod ei sit *Plania* in animo, *Delia* in uersu.' δῆλος is the Gk. translation of *planus*; and the two names scan alike. (On this see below p. xxxviii. n.).

<sup>2</sup> As a name of real life, Nemesis was extremely rare.

<sup>3</sup> See I. vi [4] 67 sq.

<sup>4</sup> I. vi. [4] 57 sqq. cf. I. iii. [2] 84 notes. He calls her a *lena* I v. 48. The workings of passion and jealousy are enough to explain these violent changes of tone.

<sup>5</sup> I. i. I. iii. [2] 9 sqq. on the other hand her *coniunx* is mentioned I. ii. 41, vi. 15. It is not necessary to suppose the marriage a regular one. It may have been that sort of morganatic marriage which custom allowed a Roman to contract with a woman who was his inferior in social position.



unhappy than in his first. Delia had inspired in him a quiet affection; his fancy for Nemesis was a violent passion. Besides this, *Nemesis.* Nemesis had a love of finery and a grasping avarice of which we hear nothing in the case of the more domestic Delia.<sup>1</sup> Nor did she atone for these faults by any greater fidelity. The subject of II. iii. [9] is a rival who carries Nemesis off to his country estate, leaving Tibullus to lament her absence in the town.

The unhappiness of the time is vividly reflected in the beginning of II. iv. [10].

Bondage and mistress here, poor thrall, I see :  
 Farewell, my old birthright of liberty !  
 Yea, bondage harsh and riveted amain,  
 And Love to watch the never-loosened chain.  
 Sinning or guiltless, still the torturing brand :  
 I burn, I burn ! ah, cruel, stay thy hand.  
 O, so this pain might cease at last to gride,  
 Were I the stone upon a bleak hill-side,  
 Or some stark rock, to raving winds a prey,  
 Whereon in thunder beats the wrecking sea !  
 Now on drear day the drearier night-shades fall,  
 And all the bitter time is steeped in gall.

Tibullus appears to have had but delicate health. We have already seen that he had one serious illness when on his way to Asia *Illnesses and Death.* with his friend Messalla. His poems betray a certain lack of robustness, and his love of retirement and strong dislike to war and travel point in the same direction. His unfortunate attachment to Nemesis may have impaired his already weak constitution. Certainly he wrote nothing that we know of afterwards,<sup>2</sup> nor did he survive for long.

In the year 19 B.C. Tibullus and Virgil died within a

<sup>1</sup> II. iii. [9] 53 *sqq.* iv. (10) 25 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Compare introduction to II. v. [11].

few weeks of each other, leaving, as it seemed to the writer of the epitaph, elegy and epos both forlorn.

Thee too, Tibullus, ere thy prime hath Death's relentless hand

Despatched to fare by Virgil's side to still Elysium's land,  
That none should be to plain of love in elegy's soft lay,  
Or in heroic numbers sweep with princes to the fray.

So far as we know Tibullus' tastes and activities were wholly literary. He took no part in the political life of his time; and he was interested in it only so far as it touched the careers of his friends. The names of Caesar and Augustus are absent from his writings: but it would be a mistake to suppose that he regarded with disfavour the monarchical revolution which was then taking definite and permanent shape. The official poem II. v. (see the introduction to it) shows that he loyally accepted the new *régime*.

*Literary Life  
and Estant  
Works.*

The only certainly genuine poems of Tibullus that have come down to us are those comprised in the first two books attributed to him. These two books were both published before the poet's death; Book I. not earlier than 26 B.C.; Book II. at some later date, which cannot be further determined. The shortness of Book II., some 430 lines, has given rise to the suspicion that it is imperfect. In II. iii. lines have unquestionably been lost about 14, 34 and 75, and II. v. seems to want a passage of some considerable length. But even if we had what has been lost, the book would contain considerably less than Book I. (over 800 lines). We may add that a fragment which cannot now be found in his works is attributed to him by the grammarian Charisius.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Printed at the end of Hiller's text in the new *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*. On the poems in Book III. which have been ascribed to Tibullus see Chapter II.

The character of Tibullus, as revealed to us in his poems, is an attractive one. A simple, gentle, affectionate nature, singularly free from egotism and personal vanity. In his modest and retiring disposition, as in other respects, he furnishes a strong contrast to his brilliant contemporary and successor Propertius. A certain attention to dress and personal appearance he cultivated no doubt: it was then the mode and his mistresses would expect it.<sup>1</sup> But it was not the conscious foppishness of Propertius, and his heart was in other things. While Propertius loved the town for its bustle and glare, the heart of Tibullus turned to the shade and quiet of the country. We shall look in vain in the elegies of Tibullus for the clamant patriotism of his rival<sup>2</sup> or his greedy anticipations of posthumous fame. Tibullus, as I wrote in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (ed. ix.) 'has no ambition and not even the poet's yearning for immortality. His muse may go packing if it cannot propitiate the fair.' A pair of quotations will show the different attitudes of the two poets. Propertius writes, III. ii. 17 sq.—

fortunata, meo si qua es memorata libello :  
carmina erunt formae tot monimenta tuae.

Tibullus, II. iv. 19 sq.—

ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero :  
ite procul, Musae, si nihil ista ualent.

<sup>1</sup> II. iii. 79 (81) 'nunc si clausa mea est, si copia rara uidendi, | heu miserum, *laxam* quid iuuat esse *togam* ?'

<sup>2</sup> With one exception I. vii. (=5) 5, where the adjective is necessary to fix the place, *Roma* and *Romanus* do not occur in Tibullus outside the official poem II. v. (11). For a contrast see a passage like Propertius 3. 4. 10 'ite et *Romanae* consulite historiae' or 2. 18. 26 'turpis *Romano* Belgicus ore color.'

And so in his poetry. We miss in Tibullus the range, the vigour, the colour of Propertius: he is inferior in imagination; he lacks his fancy and his humour. But he is also free from his faults. The turgidity, the obscurity, the crudity of Propertius never darken or ruffle the limpid flow of Tibullus. If he never soars so high, at least he never falls so flat. It has often been said that Tibullus is free from the pedantry (such it seems to us), which strews Greek and especially Alexandrian learning, relevant or irrelevant, over the pages of Propertius. This is indeed not quite a correct statement of the facts. Here and there the influence may be traced: perhaps most noticeably in I. vii. (5) where however the poet probably thought the subject demanded it. But in the main it is most true; and we must bear it in mind, if we would understand the claim of originality (in the sense in which Roman writers understood the word) which Propertius puts forward on his own behalf, as the one who first domiciled the Alexandrian elegy at Rome.<sup>1</sup> The two poets were undoubtedly writing together: but it is just as certain, from the evidence of Ovid, that Tibullus was the first to publish. It would be an interesting, if it were a soluble question, to determine what influence they exerted upon each other. Their poems undoubtedly contain a number of coincidences which can hardly be accidental.<sup>2</sup> But which in any case was the borrower;

*Characteristics  
of his Poetry.  
Tibullus and  
Propertius.*

<sup>1</sup> 'Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philetæ, | in uestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus. | *primus ego* ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos | *Italia per Graios* orgia ferre choras' 3. 1. 1 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> All the coincidences (and more) are collected in H. Belling's book *Albius Tibullus: Untersuchung*, Berlin 1897. Some of them I have given in the notes. Compare p. xviii. above with note.



or whether and, if so, how far they both drew from a common source, there is unfortunately no sufficient evidence to determine. Perhaps the most remarkable case is that of II. v. [11] in which there is much that recalls Propertius, and especially poems in his last book. These poems were certainly published some time after the death of Tibullus ; but we do not know when they were composed.

Tibullus is not one of the great poets of the world. In creative force, in imaginative insight, in wealth of fancy, he falls far short of the highest human excellence. Nor again is he a supreme artist in words. He belongs to the second order of poets, to the class of Schiller, of Tasso, and of Longfellow. And to this he owes some of his wide, but let us not say his undeserved, popularity. He has in fact the very merits by which criticism is disarmed and even prejudice conciliated. His grace, his tenderness, and his unaffected simplicity have for most perhaps only the greater attractiveness in that they do not wander from the common themes of life, from the expression of ordinary human interests and feelings, and, it must be added, of ordinary human frailties.

It is to this 'domestic' quality, as we may call it, that the poetry of Tibullus owes its chief value and charm. For those who would trace the vestiges of an irrecoverable past

*His Poetical  
Position.*

*Relation to Old  
Roman Life.*

it was most fortunate that in the break up of Roman society one soul turned lovingly back to the traditions of country life and simple piety which had made Rome great. Of that ancient life we know but little. Glimpses indeed of it we get in Plautus, when he forgets that his characters are Greeks, and in the rustic writers when for a moment they cease to give the



technical precepts of husbandry. Virgil alone, of all the contemporaries of Tibullus, had the same love of the country, the same reverence for the ancient religion. But into the descriptions of the great wizard of Latin poetry entered elements of learning and romance which make them less instructive for us than the natural pictures of Tibullus.

In this field Tibullus is at his best. Here his presentations never fail of life and truth. Whether the picture be one of the solemn white procession moving through the clear country air to the shining altar,

cernite fulgentes ut eat sacer agnus ad aras  
uinctaque post olea candida turba comas,

or of the spinning maids falling asleep over their homely task,

at circa grauibus pensis adfixa puella  
paulatim somno fessa remittat opus,

or of unconscious childhood fostered and sheltered by the family gods,

sed patrii seruare Lares : aluistis et idem,  
cursarem uestros cum tener ante pedes,

his words come home to us. For they speak from his heart and senses to our own.<sup>1</sup>

The chief faults which strike a modern reader in Tibullus are closely connected with his excellences. His plainness is apt to become monotonous, and his simplicity sometimes degenerates into silliness. The monotony is in part

*Tendency to  
Monotony.*

<sup>1</sup> The importance of Tibullus as furnishing a picture of the old Roman religion has been very rightly appreciated by Mr. Walter Pater (*Marius the Epicurean*, I. pp. 1 *sqq.*) in a passage which should be read. Unfortunately, for all his literary skill, Mr. Pater has failed to render the naturalness of the presentations of Tibullus. The light comes as through glass, and the figures appear to be posing.

due to the smallness of the vocabulary which he employs, but more to a peculiarity in its employment. It has been noticed how often he seems to sink down as if from exhaustion upon the same word, like a bird that cannot fly far and continually flutters back to its perch. It is remarkable how often, if he uses a word more than once, he will use it twice in the same poem and then maybe never again; and not merely the same word but exactly the same form of it.<sup>1</sup>

Here are some examples: *effusus* twice in I. iii., twice in I. iv., never again. *loquax* used three times, twice in I. ii. *magicus* 6 times; *Mechanical Repetitions.* 3 times in I. ii., twice in I. viii., once in I. v. *despuo* twice in I. ii., never again. *odi* twice in I. viii., never again. *operata* (a rare word if we take Latin literature as a whole) four times, all in the second book, twice in II. i. *pretium* 5 times, twice in I. ix., three times in II. iv. *resero* twice in I. ii. once besides.

This mechanical repetition, for such it would seem to be, is most noticeable in two cases. (a) Where it occurs in the same form. *placitura* II. i. 35, 51,<sup>2</sup> nowhere else; *dissolüenda* I. vii. 2, 40, nowhere else (*dissolüisse* with diaeresis also in I. x., 62); *devinctus* II. v. 5. 117, nowhere else; *lucida* I. iv. 20 (f.) 30 (n. pl.), also in II. i. 62, no other form found; *potus* (adj.) II. v. 89, 101, nowhere else; *pubes* I. vii. 5, 27 twice, no other form found elsewhere; *terreat* I. i. 3, 18; *verno* II. i. 49 (dat.), 59 (abl.) (b) Where it affects the occurrence of some of the commonest words in the language. *reuocare*—*reuocatur* I. viii. 41, 78, nowhere

<sup>1</sup> Of course we exclude all cases where a word is repeated for effect. The peculiarity we may add is not confined to words. See below.

<sup>2</sup> On this passage see however the Critical Appendix *ad loc.*

else ; *rumpere*—*rupta* II. iii. 20, 10, nowhere else ; *securus* I. i. (twice), II. iv. (twice), once beside ; *sentire* I. ii. twice (*sentiet* both times), II. iv. three times, once beside ; *servare* occurs seven times, four times in one elegy I. vi. ; *signum* occurs ten times, 4 times in II. v. and twice in I. vi. ; *sopor* twice only in I. ii. ; *sacer* and *sacrum* occur 21 times, of which 10 times in II. v., 4 times in II. iii., and twice in II. i. ; *saepe* occurs in 8 elegies out of 16 : in only two of these are there single occurrences, in the rest *i.e.* I. v., vi., viii., ix., II. iii., vi., from two to three ; *uates* occurs three times in II. v., but nowhere else ; *uendere* (out of 6 times) occurs twice in I. iv., three times in I. ix.

The same tendency is seen in metrical forms. The peculiar device of placing a *que* or a *ue* after the second word of a clause, especially in the second half of a pentameter, is ridden to death. Outside Tibullus it is hardly ever found ; but he postpones the *que* in the pentameter more commonly than not. Thus in II. v. it is postponed in lines 22, 70, 72, 86, 90 : it has a normal position only in lines 2, 100.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes the thought shows mere surplusage and tautology, often combined with an almost meaningless employment of the conjunction *nam*. II. v. 30 *sqq.* is a striking case ‘*garrula siluestri fistula sacra deo, | fistula cui semper decrescit harundinis ordo : | nam calamus cera iungitur usque minor,*’ where not only is the last couplet an irrelevant parenthesis, but the second half of it might be dispensed with altogether. I. i. 39 *sq.* is another example of an irrelevant parenthesis, while *nam*’s, of which the

<sup>1</sup> These considerations are not without importance when the question of reading or genuineness arises. Compare the Critical Appendix.

meaning is as hard to discover as the connexion between the two sentences that they appear to join, are found at I. iv. 37 sq. 'solis aeterna est Baccho Phoeboque iuventas: | *nam* decet intonsus crinis utrumque deum,' v. 59, 60 'at tu quam primum sagae praecepta rapacis | desere: *nam* donis uincitur omnis amor.'<sup>1</sup>

The syntax of Tibullus presents few peculiarities. The Greek accusative of part concerned is so frequent as to amount almost to a mannerism. This is the more remarkable as, speaking generally, Tibullus' syntax, like his diction, shows comparatively few traces of Greek influence.

Nor again is his syntax noticeably archaic. Swayed in part by considerations of metre, he allows himself a certain freedom in the construction of 'unreal' or 'imaginative' *conditional sentences* but not more than other classical poets. So I. viii. 21 sq. 'cantus et e curru Lunam deducere temptat | et faceret si non aera repulsa sonent, *ib.* iv. 63 sq. 'carmine purpurea est Nisi coma: carmina ni *sint*, | ex umero Pelopis non nituisset ebur.' The converse irregularity is found in I. ix. 39 'quid *faciam* nisi et ipse fores in amore puellae?' where the use of *faciam* avoids ambiguity: *facerem* might be taken to mean 'What should I have done?' in the past to which the imperfects of the previous context refer<sup>2</sup>.

The use of the *gerundive* with *dare* in I. vii. 40 (if

<sup>1</sup> The use of *nam* at II. v. 103, 113 might also be criticised, though there some force may be squeezed out of it. This irrational or faded use of *nam* is not confined to Tibullus; but it is most noticeable in his poems. We can get rid of the difficulty in some cases by translating it 'Why.' But it must be remembered that we have no warrant for so doing.

<sup>2</sup> There is no irregularity in II. iii. 6 sqq.; nor again in *ib.* 30; see the notes.



the text is right) is rare : and that in II. iv. 16 (note) is strange.

We find the plural of nouns where we might have expected the singular, and vice versa, *e.g.* I. i. 10 (note) and elsewhere ; but the fluctuation is a feature of all Latin poetry.

Another poetical peculiarity may be referred to here since even good scholars do not always recognize it in a particular instance, and it is very puzzling to beginners as it runs counter to modern habits of thought.<sup>1</sup> An epithet which belongs to each of a group of nouns is sometimes expressed once only and then with the last noun. See I. i. 32 (note), II. v. 22, 86 etc.

*Postponed  
Epithet.*

In his handling of the elegiac metre Tibullus, as we should expect, stands nearer to Propertius than to Ovid, though he does not show so much freedom as the former. Occasionally, more frequently indeed than Propertius in his later poems, he ends the pentameter with a word of more than two syllables ; the examples in the first poem are 38, 50, 54, 72. For the statistics see the table below, p. lii. Ovid, as is well known, excluded all but disyllables from his most finished work.

He does not however permit the hexameter to end with a double spondee as not only Catullus but even Propertius and Ovid occasionally do. It has been said that he does not allow the first half of the pentameter to end in an iambic and so take the usual form of the second half. This is however not the case ; see II. 5. (11) 18 n.

In the matter of the Caesura we may notice his liking for the weak caesura in the third foot of the hexameter as in

non arces, non uallus || erat, somnumque petebat.—I x. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Bréal *Semantics* (Eng. ed. preface p. xxxvii.)



This rhythm sometimes recurs with a strange persistence as though he were fascinated by it. Thus at the end of this poem (39 *sqq.*) only 2 out of 16 hexameters have the strong caesura. He allows caesura in the last dactyl of the hexameter five times (*twice* in I. vi. and *twice* in II. iv.).

*Lengthenings in arsis.* A final syllable ending with a short vowel and a consonant is once allowed long in arsis before a pause

nunc ad bella trahōr ; et iam quis forsitan hostis

I. x. (6) 13.

the reason being that the vowel was originally long. So also in

hoc Venus ignoscēt ; at tu, uiolente, caueto.

if this poem, III. viii. (19), is by Tibullus. The other examples are either doubtful or corrupt, *e.g.* I. v. 33, vii. 21, (upon which see the notes in the Crit. App.).

A short vowel is lengthened before *p*, I. v. 28 and, more surprisingly, before *fr*, I. vi. 34 'tua si bona nescis | seruarē, frustra clauis inest foribus.' It remains short before *sm* or *zm* in *smaragdōs*, I. i. 51, in accordance with the practice of Roman poetry.

The *o* of verbs is shortened once only, in *desinō* II. vi. (12) 41, a shortening which in words of this scansion is occasionally found in Augustan verse.

*Elision.*—Like all the poets of the best period, he avoids eliding words of the scansion ~ - or - ~ -, (and indeed any ending in a long vowel) before a short one. The elision of a short vowel followed by *m*, *e.g.* *dicām*, is subjected to strict limits. There are no examples of the elision of the form - ~ ~ *e.g.* *dicērēm*, and only two of the form ~ ~ and these both, we need not be surprised to learn, within four lines of each other, I. v. 1, 5.

He once permits himself an elision at the end of the first half of the pentameter I. iv. 56 'post etiam collo s(e) implicuisse uelit' and once in the second dactyl of its latter half II. iv. 58 'hippomanes cupidae stillat ab inguin(e) equae.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elision in Tibullus I., II. and in III. has been made the subject of a detailed study by W. Hörschelmann, published posthumously in *Philologus* 1897, pp. 354-371. He there points out some curious differences between books I. and II. which suggest that there was an appreciable interval of time between their composition. Hörschelmann's collections afford some curious illustrations of the mental characteristic of Tibullus to which we have drawn attention. Thus the elision of short *ē* before *ēs* occurs only twice, in the same poem, with the same verb *es ausus* and in the same part of the verse I. ix. 53, 77.

## CHAPTER II

### THE MESSALLA COLLECTION

THE *Delia* and *Nemesis* of Tibullus are followed in the manuscripts and editions by a number of poems which have been attributed to him, and whose authorship and character must now be considered. Most modern editors, following the Italian scholars of the Renaissance, divide them into two books, the second one beginning with the *Panegyric*. But it may be said at once that not only is this division entirely without ancient warrant, but it makes the composition and origin of the collection completely unintelligible.

The first six poems consist of elegies dealing with incidents in the life of one 'Lygdamus' and his attachment to a certain 'Neaera.' It is now generally admitted that these are not the work of Tibullus.

Next follows (vii. = IV. i.) a eulogy of Messalla in hexameter verse. Its author's name is not given ; but no scholar now ascribes it to our poet.

viii.—xii. (= IV. ii.—vi.) are short and very elegant poems, whose subject is the love of a lady called Sulpicia for a certain Cerinthus. Their authorship is unknown : but they were written neither by Sulpicia nor by her lover.

xiii.—xviii. (=IV. vii.—xii.) deal with the same subject. Their author is Sulpicia herself.

xix. (=IV. xiii.) is a poem of 24 lines purporting to have been written by Tibullus.

xx. (=IV. xiv.) is a very short poem or epigram of only four lines. Its topic is the rumours of the infidelities of the author's mistress, but its authorship there is nothing to determine.

After this the manuscripts have the epitaph of Tibullus and at the end of all the biography.

In tabular form the constitution of the book is as follows :

	Lines.
i.—vi. (28 + 30 + 38 + 96 + 34 + 64) <i>Lygdamus</i> ... ..	290
vii. [IV. i.] <i>Panegyricus</i> ... ..	211
viii.—xii. [IV. ii.—vi.] (24 + 24 + 26 + 20 + 20) <i>Sulpicia A</i>	114
xiii.—xviii. [IV. vii.—xii.] (10 + 8 + 4 + 6 + 6 + 6) <i>Sulpicia B</i> ... ..	40
xix. [IV. xiii.] attributed to Tibullus ... ..	24
xx. [IV. xiv.] 'epigram' ... ..	4
	<hr/>
	683
	<hr/>

This mere recital is sufficient to show that we have before us a collection of poems by various hands with but small claim to have the name of Tibullus associated with it.

Passing over for the present the first group of six, we come to the *Panegyric of Messalla*. The presence of this composition in hexameters in the middle of elegiac poems is of itself sufficient to prove the heterogeneousness of the collection. Its author's aim is to ingratiate himself with Messalla, in the hope, as it would appear, of obtaining some appointment in the gift of the successful

general and ex-consul<sup>1</sup> which would be some compensation for the loss of the greater part of his fortune in the confiscations of the civil wars.<sup>2</sup> It was written after Messalla had been made consul, B.C. 31, but before his campaign in Aquitania and his mission to the East,<sup>3</sup> which are not mentioned though his previous operations in Pannonia and Illyria are (106 *sqq.*)<sup>4</sup> The eulogy is a mere declamatory exercise in verse with almost no poetical merit but all the faults of rhetoric. It is frigid, tasteless, and extravagant. The extravagance reaches its height in the concluding lines. The writer proclaims that he will never cease to sing the praises of his patron. Even after death and burial, even after transformation into horse, bull, or bird, will he remember him still: and when after long ages he again resumes his human shape, he will add a post-script to his poem on Messalla!

quandocumque hominem me longa receperit aetas,  
inceptis de te subtexam carmina chartis.

<sup>1</sup> He appears to veil a 'humble petition' in the lines 192 *sqq.*, in which he says he is prepared not only to sing Messalla but to fight for him and to place himself entirely at his patron's disposal: 'sum quodcumque, tuum est. nostri si paruula cura | sit tibi quantalibet, si sit modo, non mihi regna | Lydia, non magni potior sit fama Gylippi, | posse Meleteas nec mallet uincere chartas.'

<sup>2</sup> 177-189, a passage of some pathos in spite of its faults of taste.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 135 *sqq.* 'quin hortante deo magnis insistere rebus | incipe,' with the inflated enumeration that follows suggest that Messalla was about to leave Rome for active service.

<sup>4</sup> An early date is indicated by the language used about the epic poet Valgius, v. 179 *sq.* 'est tibi qui possit magnis se accingere rebus | Valgius: aeterno propior non alter Homero.' It seems unlikely that any one would have written these words after Virgil had published the *Georgics* and was known to be engaged on the *Aeneid*.



Such a poem, it is important to observe, can scarcely have had much interest for more than two people—its subject and its author.<sup>1</sup>

The next two or 'Sulpicia' groups must be considered together. Sulpicia, as we know from her own statements, was the daughter of a Seruius Sulpicius xvi (=IV. x.) 4 'Serui filia Sulpicia' and under the tutelage of Messalla, her kinsman,<sup>2</sup> xiv (=IV. viii.) 5, 6 (note). Now we know that Valeria, a sister of the Messallae, married a Seruius and when he died remained faithful to his memory.<sup>3</sup> It does not appear rash to conjecture with Haupt, that our Sulpicia was Messalla's niece. She must at any rate have been living under his control. This Sulpicia conceived a violent affection for one 'Cerinthus' which he presently returned, won, she says, by her poetry: 'exorata meis illum Cytherea camenis | attulit in nostrum deposuitque sinum.' The meetings of the lovers had however to be kept a secret from the lady's natural protectors who would have disapproved of them. All that we know of Sulpicia and her lover is comprised within the limits of her own six brief effusions, amounting to but 40 lines in all, and the five longer elegies from another hand which precede, amounting to 114 lines.

<sup>1</sup> The Panegyric has some curious agreements of language with Propertius. *Pan.* 7, cf. *Prop.* 2. 10. 6; 120 Amythaonius—Melampus, cf. *Prop.* 2. 3. 51-54; 178, cf. *Prop.* 4 (5). 1. 133. There are also coincidences with Lygdamus: *Pan.* 25 sq. 201 sqq., *Lygd.* 1. 19 sq. (note), *Pan.* 198 sq., *Lygd.* 3. 29. sq. (note). Lygdamus, as we shall see; knew the *Panegyric* and Propertius may well have read it or heard it recited.

<sup>2</sup> If we may trust the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Jerome adu. Iovinianum, l. 46.

Of these five elegies, which may be appropriately designated the 'Garland of Sulpicia,' the first, viii. (= IV. ii.), is a dedicatory tribute *The Garland of Sulpicia.* to her beauty and charms: Cerinthus is not mentioned. Out of the rest, two, x. xii., treat directly of subjects referred to in her own poems: x. her illness, xvii.; xii. her own birthday, xiv. The motive of ix. is some visit of Cerinthus to the country where he was hunting with his father,<sup>1</sup> and that of xi. Cerinthus' own birthday: and here the connexion with the Sulpicia poems is more subtle. In ix. it is Cerinthus' absence in the country that distresses Sulpicia; in xiv. the fear of her own removal thither against her will. The poem on Cerinthus' birthday is a natural pendant to that upon her own.<sup>2</sup>

It is obvious that some poet-friend of Sulpicia's worked up the incidents of the attachment, as known to him either from actual fact or from Sulpicia's verses, into a series of charming idylls. In doing so he of course followed the lead of Sulpicia in celebrating her lover under the Greek pseudonym Cerinthus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The reference to his absence in the country to hunt with his father distinctly suggests a young Roman of good position.

<sup>2</sup> On the reading of xv. 2 'natali Romae iam licet esse tuo' see the introduction to xiv. [22].

<sup>3</sup> It has not been sufficiently observed that in this case the ordinary relations of lover and loved are reversed. Sulpicia is the wooer, the man, as it were, and hence keeps her own name, like Tibullus and Propertius: Cerinthus is the wooed, the lady, and hence is veiled in a pseudonym like Delia, Nemesis, and Cynthia. Some of the early Italian scholars of the Renaissance appear to have conjectured that by *Cerinthus* was meant *Cornutus*; for 'Cerinthe' stands in some inferior MSS. for 'Cornute' at II. ii. [8] 9. This would conform to the well-known rule for the formation of these pseudonyms that in the number and quantity of their

Who this poet was, it seems impossible with the limited material at our disposal, to determine. His verses show gifts of a high order; and those who suppose him to have been Tibullus do Tibullus no wrong. The epithets of Quintilian 'tersus atque elegans' describe him well. His treatment of his themes is indeed somewhat freer and lighter than Tibullus': it is more impersonal and, I had almost said, more professional. But that may be due to the circumstances of the case. II. ii. is the only poem of Tibullus that can be directly compared with these.

On the other hand we observe but very little which we might call distinctive of Tibullus. The postponed *que* is perhaps not found unless viii. 8 be a case (see note); for in xi. 8 'per geniumque rogo' the preposition and the case form a single word. In xi. 18 'optat idem iuuenis quod nos; sed tectius optat: | *nam* pudet haec illum dicere uerba palam' the use of *nam* certainly recalls Tibullus, but so does Lygdamus' use of *nam* and *namque*. The curious tendency of words to recur mechanically which we noticed in Tibullus above, p. xxviii., does not appear in these poems.<sup>1</sup> The two coincidences which have struck me most are the use of *at* at the beginning of the last couplet of a poem ix., xi.; Tibullus I. ii., vii., viii., x., and the rather odd juxtaposition of *niueus* and *candidus* in different circumstances; viii. 12, Tib. II. v. [11] 38 with which compare the parallelism pointed out in the note on I. vii. 12. Differences of metrical treatment are not striking, and

syllables (*numero syllabarum*) they must agree with the real names, Schol. Hor. S. 1. 2. 14. Hence *Dēlia* = *Plānia*, *Cynthia* (Propertius' mistress) = *Hostia*.

<sup>1</sup> ix. 9, 21 *furtim* and 14 *celeri*, 24 *celer* may be accidental.

the material is not sufficient to build up a structure of statistics.<sup>1</sup>

For the pleasure of the reader I append a translation in verse of the introduction to the 'Garland' from the pen of one in whose untimely death Shrewsbury and Cambridge lost one of the most elegant composers among their classical sons.<sup>III. viii.</sup> The light untroubled tone of the original, it will be observed, is well reflected in the version.

On thy Calends hath my Ladye robed to pay thee honour  
due ;  
Come, if thou be wise, great Mavors, come thyself her charms  
to view !  
Venus will excuse the treason ; but do thou, rude chief,  
beware,  
Lest thine arms fall in dishonour, while thou gazest on the  
fair !  
In her eyes, whene'er her pleasure wills the hearts of gods  
to fire,  
Lamps, a pretty pair, are burning, ever lit by young Desire :  
Whatsoe'er the maid be doing, wheresoe'er her steps she  
bends,  
Perfect grace is shed around her, perfect grace in stealth  
attends :  
If she leave her tresses flowing, grace o'er flowing locks is  
poured,  
If she braid them, in her braidings she is meet to be  
adored ;

<sup>1</sup> He has, it is true, only one pentameter out of fifty-seven ending with a polysyllable (*segetis* viii. 18), which is considerably under the average in Tibullus ; see the table on p. lii. But this may be due to the shortness of the poems, for II. ii. has none either. Hörschelmann makes the curious observation that Tibullus in I. II. never elides a trochaic word ending in -ă before a short vowel, while the author of the Garland has three such elisions. It may be noted that the resemblances to Propertius which we have already seen occur in Tibullus and Lygdamus are found in these elegies also. See notes on viii (19), x. (20).



Every heart is fired to see her, walk she robed in purple  
 bright,  
 Every heart is fired to see her, come she dressed in snowy  
 white :  
 So Vertumnus, blest Immortal, in Olympus' heavenly hall,  
 Hath a thousand varied dresses, and the thousand grace  
 him all.  
 Unto her alone of maidens meet it is that Tyre produce  
 Precious gifts of softest fleeces, doubly dyed in costly  
 juice ;  
 Her's alone be all the perfumes, which on scented meadows  
 wide,  
 Tills and reaps the wealthy Arab at his fragrant harvest-  
 tide ;  
 All the shells the dusky Indian, on the Erythrean shore,  
 Neighbour of the steeds of Eos, heaps in many a shining  
 store.  
 Her upon your festal Calends, sing ye, bright Pierid quire !  
 Sing her praises, haughty Phoebus, on thy tortoise-fashioned  
 lyre !  
 Through the course of future ages let the annual rite be  
 done :  
 Never maiden was more worthy to be numbered with thine  
 own. A. H.<sup>1</sup>

The little letters of Sulpicia herself have the unique  
 interest of being the only love poems by a  
 Roman lady that have come down to us. *Sulpicia's Little Letters.*  
 They reveal a proud and passionate nature,  
 such as we are accustomed to associate with the South  
 Some of these effusions have a directness and simplicity  
 which remind us of Catullus himself: others are  
 obscure and crabbed in their expression, as his too  
 are at times. Their difficulty has given rise to the  
 calumny, which the ravages of time have left us no  
 means of rebutting, that their Latinity is 'feminine.'

Compositions of so private and personal a char-

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by permission from 'THE EAGLE,' the magazine  
 of St. John's College, Cambridge.



acter as those included in the Sulpicia and Cerinthus collections could only have been published with the permission of the lady herself or, after her death, by the authorization of her friends. This applies especially to her own frank and passionate verses which can hardly have been intended for any eyes but her own, and, it may be, her lover's. And nothing forbids the conjecture that Sulpicia died before her uncle and that in this way her private papers found their way into his.<sup>1</sup>

The last two poems may be briefly dismissed. The maker of the collection undoubtedly believed the first to be the work of Tibullus. Of course this does not settle the matter which is discussed in an Appendix.

The second one is as follows :

Rumor ait crebro nostram peccare puellam :  
 nunc ego me surdis auribus esse uelim.  
 crimina non haec sunt nostro sine facta dolore :  
 quid miserum torques, rumor acerbe ? tace.

It obviously gives no clue to its authorship.

Let us look at the Collection apart from the first six poems, and consider if they have any common bond of connexion. It is obvious that they have and this is *Messalla*. A panegyric on himself is followed by poems written for or by his kinswoman and then follows a poem either written or professing to be written by the most distinguished poet of his circle. The order too is the natural one ; the statesman first, the niece second, the friend last.

But now we are confronted with a strange circumstance. Why in front of all these does there appear a series of compositions

*Lygdamus*  
*Group.*

<sup>1</sup> Some have thought that she married afterwards Cerinthus (Cornutus) and that she is the *uxor* of II. ii. (8).

ever with Messalla, his family, or his friends? Who is this Lygdamus? And how is it that he with his Neaera have thus been exalted to the place of honour?

Lygdamus, for such we may suppose to have been his real name, though Neaera in conformity with the custom of the time, *Its literary character.* is doubtless an assumed one, was not only

a poor poet but, as was noted long ago by Dissen, a poor Latinist. Over and over again we come upon phrases which jar uncomfortably upon us and for parallels to which we look in vain. The haziness and clumsiness of much that he writes suggests the foreigner; and more than once he appears not to have realised the genuine Roman associations of words and names. His confused and redundant expression is often difficult to follow.

One thing must be put to his credit. He had a genuine feeling for literary merit in the poetry of others and in particular a good ear for metre and rhythm.

Thus at iv. 71-2, though the thought is borrowed, it is well expressed:

sed perlucenti cantum meditabar auena  
ille ego Latonae filius atque Iouis

and vi. 56, one of the most quoted lines of Latin literature,

perfida, sed quamuis perfida, cara tamen

is an elegant expression of a tender sentiment, worthy of his model Tibullus.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately Lygdamus'

<sup>1</sup> For proof of this it is enough to refer to the notes upon 13-17.

<sup>2</sup> It may well have been borrowed; for Euripides *Phoenissae* 1446 has φίλος γὰρ ἐχθρὸς ἐγένετ' ἀλλ' ὅμως φίλος.

previous line shows clearly how casual is the excellence

perfida nec merito nobis inimica<sup>1</sup> merenti

The quality of Lygdamus' genius may perhaps best be estimated and judged where we have a predecessor or model to set by his side.

How poor and flat is his description of the deserted Ariadne when compared with that of Catullus (64. 124 *sqq.*) whom he is citing

Gnosia, Theseae quondam periuria linguae  
flevisti ignoto sola relictæ mari :  
sic cecinit pro te doctus, Minoi, Catullus,  
ingrati referens impia facta uiri.<sup>2</sup>

(vi. 37-40.)

or even beside that of Calypso by Propertius whom he appears here, as so often, to imitate :

at non sic Ithaci digressu mota Calypso  
desertis olim fleuerat aequoribus :  
multos illa dies incompertis maesta capillis  
sederat iniusto multa locuta salo.

(I. 15. 9-12.)

Or again when he is following Virgil or Horace, how soon he falls behind his masters.

<sup>1</sup> I have conjectured *et amica* (neut. plur.) for *inimica* which would be some improvement.—It may be urged in favour of Lygdamus that some at least of the faults of expression that we find in him are to be set down to the copyists. This is of course a possibility with which we must reckon. But it should be remembered that in this respect he has had no worse luck than Tibullus, whose superiority to him is for all that most evident.

<sup>2</sup> Note in particular the clumsy attempt at ornament in the proper names *Gnosia*, *Minoi* with their double vocative and the woodenness of *cecinit pro te*.

Contrast Virgil *Ecl.* 8. 48 *sq.*

saeuus Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem  
commaculare manus.

with Lygdamus iv. 65 *sq.*

saeuus Amor docuit ualidos temptare labores :  
saeuus Amor docuit uerbera posse pati.

or Horace (*carm.* 3. 23. 17 *sqq.*)

non sumptuosa blandior hostia  
molliuit auersos Penatis  
farre pio et saliente mica.

with Lygdamus, iv. 10 :

et uanum metuens hominum genus omina noctis  
farre pio placant et saliente sale.

Of this Lygdamus we know nothing but what he tells us and what can be inferred from his words. *Lygdamus.*

That he was of a lower station than Tibullus and of course than Messalla<sup>1</sup> is indicated not only by his name which is that of a slave<sup>2</sup> but also by the unusual title that he applies by preference to Neaera, not *domina*, *era* or *amica*, but *coniunx* (cf. i. [13] 26 n.) which suggests a different social stratum from theirs. His

<sup>1</sup> The writer of the biographical notice of Tibullus (Albius) in the new edition of Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie* (F. Marx) contests this. But I know of no reason for supposing him to have been 'a person of quality' except the badness of his verses. Nor is there anything to show that he was rich, though he may well have possessed a competence.

<sup>2</sup> It would be an interesting guess to identify him with Lygdamus, the confidential slave of Cynthia the mistress of Propertius. The literary influence of Propertius upon our Lygdamus is obvious to those who have compared the two poets. Some agreements are given in the notes on 13-17.



foreign origin appears, as we have said, in numerous peculiarities of diction and is certainly not disproved by i. 2 *nostris—avis*. A new Roman citizen entered as a matter of course into all the rights of the native.<sup>1</sup>

Upon the date of his birth we have a definite statement, which raises a difficult though interesting literary question. From v. 17 *Lygdamus and Ovid.* sq. we learn that he was born in B.C. 43, (the year in which both the consuls Hirtius and Pansa were killed in battle), which would make him 24 at the death of Tibullus :

natalem primo nostrum uidere parentes  
*cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari.*

Ovid was born in the same year and uses exactly the same language in dating his birth (*Tristia* 4. 10. 5 sq.)

editus hic ego sum : nec non, ut tempora noris,  
*cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari.*

If this striking coincidence of expression stood alone, we might explain it by supposing that Lygdamus and Ovid had taken the pentameter from a common source. *Per se* this hypothesis would not be improbable. The violent death of both the highest officers of the state in the same year was an event in Roman history so singular that in the course of twenty years after the occurrence some writer of fugitive verse may well have hit upon this verse to describe it. When it once became known, its appropriateness would make it freely quoted.

In this case, however, the question is complicated

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps only fancy ; but I seem to detect a slightly vulgar note in Lygdamus which is absent from the writings of Tibullus and the Sulpicia group.



by the fact that in the immediate context of this line occur similarities hardly less remarkable. In *Ars Am.* 2. 669. *sq.* Ovid has

dum uires annique sinunt, tolerate labores :  
iam ueniet tacito curua senecta pede,

in vv. 15 *sq.* Lygdamus has

et nondum cani nostros laesere capillos  
nec uenit tardo curua senecta pede,

in *Amores* 2 14. 23. *sq.* Ovid has

quid plenam fraudas uitem crescentibus uuis  
pomaque crudeli uellis acerba manu ?

in vv. 19, 20. Lygdamus has

quid fraudare iuuat uitem crescentibus uuis  
et modo nata mala uellere poma manu ?

Thus in the space of six lines Lygdamus has agreements with Ovid to the following extent ; one whole pentameter identical in thought and expression except that *tardo* 'slow' appears instead of *tacito* 'silent,' and another couplet identical in thought and also in expression, except for one word (*plenam*) omitted in the hexameter and two different in the pentameter.

To these passages we must add the parallels which were noted by Lachmann <sup>1</sup>

cum primum cupido Venus est deducta marito  
hoc bibit : ex illo tempore nupta fuit.

OVID, *Fasti* 4. 153 *sq.*

ut iuueni primum uirgo deducta marito  
inficitur teneras ore rubente genas.

LYGD. iv. 31 *sq.*

<sup>1</sup> Lachmann *Kleinere Schriften* (ed. Vahlen) II. p. 131. I have omitted some of the parallels which appeared to be doubtful, including *Am.* 3. 9. 51 *sq.* (*infra*) and Lygd. ii. 11-13 (*inf.*) ; but I should add *Met.* 8. 488 and Lygd. ii. 15. (see notes).

Iuppiter ex alto periuria ridet amantum  
et iubet Aeolios inrita ferre Notos.

OVID, *Ars Am.* 1. 633 sq.

compared with

nulla fides inerit : periuria ridet amantum  
Iuppiter et uentos inrita ferre iubet.

LYGD. vi. 91 sq.

and with

et iubeat tepidos inrita ferre Notos.

LYGD. vi. 94.

The preceding couplet also seems to have been before Ovid's mind when he wrote *Am.* 3. 3. 9-12.

This resemblance is far too great to be accidental ; and it follows either that Lygdamus imitated Ovid here or Ovid Lygdamus. Both views are tenable in themselves, and both have been maintained. It is not a conclusive argument that Ovid was a far superior writer to Lygdamus. We know from many examples—Rabelais and Shakspeare are notable ones—that great geniuses may borrow from their inferiors, and then, as would be the case here, the second work is better than the first

If Lygdamus' poems had been the only ones in the collection, we might still continue in our doubts. But it happens to include one which, whoever was its author, was certainly not written by him. I refer to xix.

To certain expressions in this piece Ovid appears to make an unmistakable allusion in the *Ars Amandi*

dum licet et loris passim potes ire solutis,  
elige cui dicas 'tu mihi sola places.'  
haec tibi non tenues ueniet delapsa per auras :  
quaerenda est oculis apta puella tuis.

*Ars Am.* 1. 41-44.

compared with xix. 3 sq. and 13 sq.

tu mihi sola places nec iam te praeter in urbe  
formosa est oculis ulla puella meis.

nunc licet e caelo mittatur amica Tibullo  
mittetur frustra deficietque Venus.

Ovid's meaning is this. If you want a lady love, to whom you may apply the compliment of the poet *tu mihi sola places*, you must look for her yourself. Do not be beguiled by the vain idea that she 'may be sent down to you from the skies.'

The borrowing here is obvious, and the improvement just as manifest; and there is no longer reason for disputing that what Ovid did in the case of the author of xix. he did in the case of Lygdamus.

It follows then that the Third Book was known to Ovid before he wrote the *Ars Amandi* and before he published the *Amores* in its second or may be in its first edition.<sup>1</sup> The *Ars Amandi* is certainly not later than

*Approximate  
date of publi-  
cation of Book  
Three.*

A.D. 1. The two editions of the *Amores* preceded it, the first by a considerable interval: but they cannot be dated. All that we know is that they mention no event prior to B.C. 19, the death of Tibullus, or later than B.C. 14. We shall not be far wrong in affirming that Ovid became acquainted with the collection edited by Lygdamus some time between B.C. 15 and B.C. 2, that is to say when the two writers were still *iuvenes* (aet. 28-41), and accordingly that it was published some time within this period.

It is certain that the poems of Lygdamus were published by himself. For prefixed to them is the pre-

<sup>1</sup> The *Amores* consisted originally of five books, not three, as the epigram prefixed to them shows.

fatory poem in which they were dedicated to Neaera. Did he publish them alone? If he did, how are we to account for the fact that they are found conjoined in our MSS. with other poems with which they do not appear to have the slightest connexion? This difficulty has a twofold aspect. If illustrious reputation and official status were regarded, how came these productions of a nobody to take precedence of a eulogy on one of the most distinguished statesmen of the Augustan period? If, on the other hand, account was taken of literary merit, why were these flat and halting compositions placed in front of some of the most exquisite and finished creations of Roman elegy? The answer is not difficult to find. *The editor of the collection was the poetaster himself, and its arrangement is his own.*

The genesis of this collection then will be as follows. Not very long after the death of Tibullus, a freedman called Lygdamus, who had some connexion with the Messalla family and whose own poetical activity suggested him as a proper person to be editor, was authorised to publish a number of poems which concerned the statesman himself or members of his family. These pieces he arranged on the plan already set forth (p. xlii.) and prefixed to the small volume a few poetical compositions of his own.

Before leaving the Third Book it may be as well to draw attention to certain features it shares in common with Books I. and II.

A quite unusual proportion of the poems which they comprise relate to the celebration of birth-days or other private festivals. Excluding the semi-official II. v. and regarding the elegiac poems only, we find that I. vii., II. i., ii., III. i., viii., xi., xii., xiv., xv. are of this

*Lygdamus the  
Editor of Book  
Three.*

*Similarities be-  
tween I, II, and  
III.  
A 'Tibullus  
Circle.'*



character. Illnesses of the writer or his friends furnish occasions for another group ; I. iii., III. v., x., xvii.

The similarity of subject matter extends to the treatment as well. Though the differences between the various writers are marked enough when we look at them closely, they have a certain superficial resemblance. In their handling of the elegiac metre they are not very dissimilar, and we observe a certain likeness in their use of language. These similarities may be ascribed without rashness to the influence of Tibullus, and we are entitled to picture to ourselves a literary 'circle' in which he was a principal figure.

The patron of the circle was of course his friend Messalla. Though the other avocations of the statesman, orator, and critic did not leave him much leisure for poetry, we know from a piece which is included in the 'Virgilian' *catalepta* that he wooed the muse of the Greek idyll in a composition as 'Attic in its wit, as in its language' ('carmina cum lingua tum sale Cecropio' Epigr. 9 (11). 14).

His interest and personality must have been a powerful stimulus to the poets of his society. And Tibullus, at any rate, were he alive to put his feelings into words, would raise no protest if, with the latest German historian of Latin literature, we called this Third Book by the name of the MESSALLA COLLECTION.



# PENTAMETER ENDINGS IN ROMAN ELEGY.

		No. of pentameters.	Non-disyllabic endings.			Total.	Per- centage.
			Tri- syllabic.	Quadri- syllabic.	Quinque- syllabic.		
TIBULLUS	I.	...	12	13	2	27	$6\frac{2}{3}$
	II.	...	9	9	—	18	$8\frac{1}{3}$
"		...	—	—	—	—	—
		...	21	22	2	45	$7\frac{1}{4}$
		...	—	—	—	—	—
		...	5	3	2	10	$6\frac{9}{10}$
Lygdamus	...	...	1	—	—	1	$1\frac{1}{5}$
	...	...	0	1	0	1	[5]
Sulpicia Garland	...	...	1	—	—	1	[8 $\frac{1}{3}$ ]
	...	...	—	—	—	—	—
Sulpicia's Letters	...	...	85	95	17 + 2 <sup>1</sup>	199	$61\frac{7}{10}$
	...	...	—	—	—	—	—
CATULLUS	...	...	32	87	9	128	$36\frac{4}{5}$
	...	...	1	4	1	6	$1\frac{1}{4}$
PROPERTIUS—	...	...	—	—	—	—	—
	...	...	—	—	—	—	—
First book	...	...	348	—	—	—	—
	...	...	486	—	—	—	—
Last book	...	...	—	—	—	—	—
	...	...	—	—	—	—	—
OVID—	...	...	0	0	0	0	0 <sup>2</sup>
	...	...	—	—	—	—	—
Heroides 1-14 (incl.)...	...	...	—	—	—	—	—
	...	...	—	—	—	—	—
about 1100	...	...	—	—	—	—	—
	...	...	—	—	—	—	—

1 1 septisyllabic and 1 monosyllabic ending (*sent*).  
2 The poems which Ovid wrote during his exile, *Tristia* and *ex Ponto*, show a sprinkling of non-disyllabic endings.

# TIBULLUS SELECTIONS

\* \* Only the most important variant readings are given in the footnotes to the text: for the others the CRITICAL APPENDIX should be consulted.

Readings of any of the chief manuscript authorities are printed in roman type: readings of inferior manuscripts and conjectures in *italic*.

# TIBULLUS

## BOOK I. DELIA

### 1

#### I. i

#### The Poet's Ideals

*riches*  
**D**IVITIAS alius fuluo sibi congerat auro  
et teneat culti iugera multa soli,  
quem labor adsiduus uicino terreat hoste,  
Marta cui somnos classica pulsa fugent :  
me mea paupertas uita traducat inertī,  
dum meus adsiduo luceat igne focus.  
*poverty*  
iam mihi, iam possim contentus uiuere paruo  
nec semper longae deditus esse uiae,  
sed Canis aestiuos ortus uitare sub umbra  
arboris ad riuos praetereuntis aquae.  
nec tamen interdum pudeat tenuisse bidentes  
aut stimulo tardos increpuisse boues ;

2 magna.

9 ictus.

non agnamue sinu pigeat fetumue capellae,  
desertum oblita matre, referre domum.

ipse seram teneras maturo tempore uites

rusticus, et facili grandia poma manu :

nec Spes destituat, sed frugum semper aceruos

praebeat et pleno pinguia musta lacu.

vine  
15

fresh wine



flaua Ceres, tibi sit nostro de rure corona  
spicea, quae templi pendeat ante fores ;

farm



pomosisque ruber custos ponatur in hortis  
 terreat ut saeua falce Priapus aues.  
 nam ueneror, seu stipes habet desertus in agris  
 seu uetus in triuio florida sertâ lapis ;  
 et quodcumque mihi pomum nouus educat annus, 25  
 libatum agricolae ponitur ante deo.  
 uos quoque, felicitis quondam, nunc pauperis agri  
 custodes, fertis munera uestra, Lares.  
 tunc uitula innumeros lustrabat caesa iuuenkos :  
 nunc agna exigui est hostia parua soli. 30  
 agna cadet uobis, quam circum rustica pubes  
 clamat 'io ! messes et bona uina date.'  
 at uos exiguo pecori, furesque lupique,  
 parcite : de magno praeda petenda grege.  
 hinc ego pastoremque meum lustrare quotannis 35  
 et placidam soleo spargere lacte Palen.  
 adsitis, diui, neu uos de pauperē mensa  
 dona nec e puris spernite fictilibus.—  
 fictilia antiquus primum sibi fecit agrestis  
 pocula, de facili composuitque lufō.— 40  
 non ego diuitias patrum fructusque requiro,  
 quos tulit antiquo condita messis auo :  
 parua seges satis est ; satis est, requiescere lecto  
 si licet et solito membra leuare toro.  
 quam iuuat imminites uentos audire cubantem 45  
 et dominam tenero continuisse sinu  
 aut, gelidas hibernus aquas cum fuderit Auster,  
 securum somnos imbre iuuante sequi ! ✕

# TIBULLUS SELECTIONS

hoc mihi contingat : sit diues iure, furorem  
 qui maris et tristes ferre potest pluuias. 50  
 o ! quantum est auri pereat potiusque smaragdi,  
 quam fleat ob nostras ulla puella uias.  
 te bellare decet terra, Messalla, marique,  
 ut domus hostiles praeferat exuias :  
 me retinent uictum formosae uincla puellae, 55  
 et sedeo duras ianitor ante fores.  
 non ego laudari curo, mea Delia : tecum  
 dum modo sim, quaeso segnis inersque uocer.  
 te spectem, suprema mihi cum uenerit hora,  
 et teneam moriens deficiente manu. 60  
 flebis et arsuro positum me, Delia, lecto,  
 tristibus et lacrimis oscula mixta dabis.  
 flebis : non tua sunt duro praecordia ferro  
 uincta, neque in tenero stat tibi corde silex.  
 illo non iuuenis poterit de funere quisquam 65  
 lumina, non uirgo sicca referre domum.  
 tu Manes ne laede meos, sed parce solutis  
 crinibus et teneris, Delia, parce genis.  
 interea, dum fata sinunt, iungamus amores :  
 iam ueniet tenebris Mors adoperta caput, 70  
 iam subrepet iners aetas ; nec amare decebit,  
 dicere nec cano blanditias capite.  
 nunc leuis est tractanda uenus, dum frangere  
 postes  
 non pudet et rixas inseruisse iuuat.

55 uinctum.

60 te.

74 conseruisse.

hic ego dux milesque bonus : uos, signa tubae-  
que, 75

ite procul, cupidis uulnera ferte uiris,  
ferre et opes : ego composito securus aceruo  
dites despiciam despiciamque famem.

78 despiciam dites.

## 2

### I. iii

#### Sick and far from home

Ibitis Aegaeas sine me, Messalla, per undas,  
o ! utinam memores, ipse cohorsque, mei :  
me tenet ignotis aegrum Phaeacia terris :  
abstineas auidas, Mors precor atra, manus.  
abstineas, Mors atra, precor : non hic mihi mater 5  
quae legat in maestos ossa perusta sinus,  
non soror, Assyrios cineri quae dedat odores  
et fleat effusis ante sepulcra comis,  
Delia non usquam ; quae me cum mitteret urbe,  
dicitur ante omnes consuluisse deos.  
illa sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit : illi  
rettulit e trinis omnia certa puer.  
cuncta dabant reditus : tamen est deterrita num-  
quam,  
quin fleret nostras respiceretque uias.

4 modo nigra.

9 quam.

12 triuiis.

14 despueretque.

10 *deus.*





*over-lead.*  
ipse ego solator, cum iam mandata dedissem, 15  
quaerebam tardas anxius usque moras.

aut ego sum causatus aues aut omina dira,  
Saturniue sacram me tenuisse diem.

o! quotiens ingressus iter mihi tristia dixi  
offensum in porta signa dedisse pedem. 20

audeat inuito nequis discedere Amore,  
aut sciet egressum se prohibente deo.

quid tua nunc Isis mihi, Delia, quid mihi prosunt  
illa tua totiens aera repulsa manu?

quidue, pie dum sacra colis, pureque lauari 25  
te (memini) et puro secubuisse toro?

nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi (nam posse mederi  
picta docet templis multa tabella tuis),

ut mea uotiuas persoluens Delia noctes  
ante sacras lino tecta fores sedeat 30

bisque die resoluta comas tibi dicere laudes  
insignis turba debeat in Pharia.

at mihi contingat patrios celebrare Penates  
reddereque antiquo menstrua tura Lari. *monthly*

quam bene Saturno uiuebant rege, priusquam 35  
tellus in longas est patefacta uias!

nondum caeruleas pinus contempserat undas,  
effusum uentis prae bueratque sinum, *profit.*

nec uagus ignotis repetens compendia terris  
presserat externa nauita merce ratem. 40

18 Saturni. 22 sciat.  
25, 26 quodue—te memini et.  
29 uoces.





illo non ualidus subiit iuga tempore taurus,  
 non domito frenos ore momordit equus,  
 non domus ulla fores habuit, non fixus in agris,  
 qui regeret certis finibus arua, lapis.  
 ipsae mella dabant quercus, ultroque ferebant 45  
 obuia securis ubera lactis oues.  
 non acies, non ira fuit, non bella, nec ensem  
 inmiti saeuus duxerat arte faber.  
 nunc Ioue sub domino caedes et uulnera semper,  
 nunc mare, nunc leti mille repente uiae. 50  
 parce, pater. timidum non me periuria terrent,  
 non dicta in sanctos impia uerba deos.  
 quod si fatales iam nunc expleuimus annos,  
 fac lapis inscriptis stet super ossa notis :  
*Hic iacet immiti consumptus morte Tibullus,* 55  
*Messallam terra dum sequiturque mari.*  
 sed me, quod facilis tenero sum semper amori,  
 ipsa Venus campos ducet in Elysios.  
 hic choreae cantusque uigent, passimque uagantes  
 dulce sonant tenui gutture carmen aues ; 60  
 fert casiam non culta seges, totosque per agros  
 floret odoratis terra benigna rosis ;  
 ac iuuenum series teneris immixta puellis  
 ludit, et adsidue proelia miscet amor.  
 illic est, cuicumque rapax Mors uenit amanti, 65  
 et gerit insigni myrtea sarta coma.  
 at scelerata iacet sedes in nocte profunda  
 abdita, quam circum flumina nigra sonant ;

50 multa reperta uia est.

Tisiphoneque impexa feros pro crinibus angues  
 saeuit, et huc illuc impia turba fugit ; 70  
 tum niger in porta serpentum Cerberus ore  
 stridet et aeratas excubat ante fores.



illic Iunonem temptare Ixionis ausi  
 uersantur celeri noxia membra rota ;  
 porrectusque nouem Tityos per iugera terrae 75  
 adsiduas atro uiscere pascit aues.

Tantalus est illic, et circum stagna : sed acrem  
 iam iam poturi deserit unda sitim ;  
 et Danai proles, Veneris quod numina laesit,  
 in caua Lethaeas dolia portat aquas. 80

69 implexa.

71 per centum—ora.

illic sit, quicumque meos uiolauit amores,  
optauit lentas et mihi militias.

at tu casta precor maneat, sanctique pudoris  
adsideat custos sedula semper anus.

haec tibi fabellas referat positaque lucerna  
deducat plena stamina longa colu;

at circa grauib<sup>us</sup> pensis adfixa puella  
paulatim somno fessa remittat opus.

tunc ueniam subito, nec quisquam nuntiet ante,  
sed uidear caelo missus adesse tibi.

tunc mihi, qualis eris, longos turbata capillos,  
obuia nudato, Delia, curre pede.

hoc precor, hunc illum nobis Aurora nitentem  
Luciferum roseis candida portet equis.

### 3

#### I. v. 1—36

#### Love's dreams are vain

Asper eram et bene discidium me ferre loquebar :  
at mihi nunc longe gloria fortis abest.

namque agor, ut per plana citus sola uerbere  
turben,

quem celer adsueta uersat ab arte puer.

ure ferum et torque, libeat ne dicere quicquam 5  
magnificum post haec : horrida uerba doma.



parce tamen, per te furtiui foedera lecti,  
 per uenerem quaeso compositumque caput.  
 ille ego, cum tristi morbo defessa iaceres,  
 te dicor uotis eripuisse meis, 10  
 ipseque te circum lustraui sulphure puro,  
 carmine cum magico praecinuisset anus ;  
 ipse procuraui ne possent saeua nocere  
 somnia, ter sancta deueneranda mola ;  
 ipse ego uelatus filo tunicisque solutis 15  
 uota nouem Triuiæ nocte silente dedi.  
 omnia persolui : fruitur nunc alter amore,  
 et precibus felix utitur ille meis.  
 at mihi felicem uitam, si salua fuisses,  
 fingebam, demens et renuente deo. 20  
 'Rura colam ; frugumque aderit mea Delia custos,  
 area dum messes sole calente teret ;  
 aut mihi seruabit plenis in lintribus uuas  
 pressaque ueloci candida musta pede ;  
 consuescet numerare pecus ; consuescet amantis 25  
 garrulus in dominae ludere uerna sinu.  
 illa deo sciet agricolae pro uitibus uuam,  
 pro segete spicas, pro grege ferre dapem.  
 illa regat cunctos, illi sint omnia curae :  
 at iuuat in tota me nihil esse domo. 30  
 huc ueniet Messalla meus, cui dulcia poma  
 Delia selectis detrahat arboribus ;  
 et, tantum uenerata uirum, hunc sedula curet,  
 huic paret atque epulas ipsa ministra gerat.



haec mihi fingebam quae nunc Eurisque Notus-  
que 35

iactat odoratos uota per Armenios.

## 4

I. vi. 43—86

## L o v e r s m u s t b e t r u e

Sic fieri iubet ipse deus, sic magna sacerdos  
est mihi diuino uaticinata sono ;  
haec ubi Bellonae motu est agitata, nec acrem 45  
flammas, non amens uerbera torta timet ;  
ipsa bipenne suos caedit uiolenta lacertos  
sanguineque effuso spargit inulta deam,  
statque latus praefixa ueru, stat saucia pectus,  
et canit euentus quos dea magna monet. 50  
'Parcite, quam custodit Amor, uiolare puellam,  
ne pigeat magno post didicisse malo.  
attigeris, labentur opes, ut uulnere nostro  
sanguis, ut hic uentis diripiturque cinis.'  
et tibi nescioquas dixit, mea Delia, poenas : 55  
si tamen admittas, sit precor illa leuis.  
non ego te propter parco tibi, sed tua mater  
me mouet atque iras aurea uincit anus.  
haec mihi te adducit tenebris multoque timore  
coniungit nostras clam taciturna manus ; 60

haec foribusque manet noctu me adfixa proculque  
cognoscit strepitus me ueniente pedum.  
uiue diu mihi, dulcis anus ; proprios ego tecum,  
sit modo fas, annos contribuisse uelim.  
te semper natamque tuam te propter amabo : 65  
quidquid agit, sanguis est tamen illa tuus.  
sit modo casta, doce, quamuis non uitta ligatos  
impediat crines nec stola longa pedes.  
et mihi sint durae leges, laudare nec ullam  
possim ego, quin oculos adpetat illa meos ; 70  
et, siquid peccasse putet, ducarque capillis  
immerito pronas proripiarque uias.  
non ego te pulsare uelim ; sed, uenerit iste  
si furor, optarim non habuisse manus.  
nec saeuo sis casta metu, sed mente fideli ; 75  
mutuus absenti te mihi seruet amor.

\*

at quae fida fuit nulli, post uicta senecta  
ducit inops tremula stamina torta manu  
firmaque conductis adnectit licia telis  
tractaque de niueo uellere ducta putat. 80  
hanc animo gaudente uident iuuenumque cateruae  
commemorant merito tot mala ferre senem ;  
hanc Venus ex alto flentem sublimis Olympo  
spectat et, infidis quam sit acerba, monet.  
haec aliis maledicta cadant : nos, Delia, amoris 85  
exemplum cana simus uterque coma.

72 *in medium* pronas.      80 *dente*.

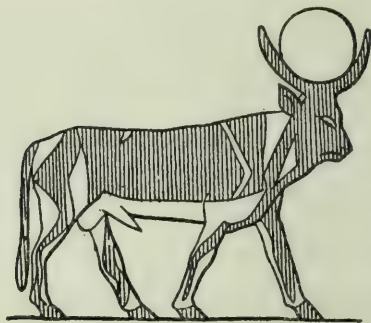
## 5

## I. vii

## The Triumph of Messalla

Hunc cecinere diem Parcae, fatalia nentes  
 stamina non ulli dissoluenda deo,  
 hunc fore, Aquitanas posset qui fundere gentes,  
 cum tremere fortis milite uictus Atax.  
 euenere : nouos pubes Romana triumphos 5  
 uidit et euinctos bracchia capta duces ;  
 at te uictrices lauros, Messalla, gerentem  
 portabat nitidis currus eburnus equis.  
 non sine marte ibi partus honos : Tarbella Pyrene  
 testis et Oceani litora Santonici. 10  
 testis Arar Rhodanusque celer magnusque Garunna,  
 Carnutis et flauis caerulea lympha Liger.  
 an te, Cydne, canam, tacitis qui leniter undis  
 caeruleus placidae per uada serpis aquae ?  
 quantus et aetherio contingens uertice nubes, 15  
 frigidus intonsos Taurus alat Cilicas ?  
 quid referam, ut uolitet crebras intacta per urbes  
 alba Palaestino sancta columba Syro ?  
 utque maris uastum prospectet turribus aequor  
 prima ratem uentis credere docta Tyros ? 20  
 3 hoc. 4 quem. *Atur.* 9 sine me est tibi.  
 14 placidis—aquis.

qualis et, arentes cum findit Sirius agros,  
 fertilis aestiua Nilus abundet aqua ?  
 Nile pater, quanam possim te dicere causa  
 aut quibus in terris oculuisse caput ?  
 te propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres, 25  
 arida nec Pluuio supplicat herba Ioui.  
 te canit atque suum pubes miratur Osirim  
 barbara, Memphiten plangere docta bouem.



primus aratra manu sollerti fecit Osiris  
 et teneram ferro sollicitauit humum ; 30  
 primus inexpertae commisit semina terrae  
 pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus.  
 hic docuit teneram palis adiungere uitem,  
 hic uiridem dura caedere falce comam.  
 illi iucundos primum matura saporos 35  
 expressa incultis uua dedit pedibus.  
 ille liquor docuit uoces inflectere cantu,  
 mouit et ad certos nescia membra modos,

bacchus et agricolae magno confecta labore  
 pectora laetitiae dissoluenda dedit. 40  
 bacchus et adflictis requiem mortalibus adfert,  
 crura licet dura compede pulsa sonent.  
 non tibi sunt tristes curae nec luctus, Osiri,  
 sed chorus et cantus et leuis aptus amor,  
 sed uarii flores et frons redimita corymbis, 45  
 fusa sed ad teneros lutea palla pedes  
 et Tyriae uestes et dulcis tibia cantu  
 et leuis occultis conscia cista sacris.  
 huc ades et Genium ludis centumque choreis  
 concelebra et multo tempora funde mero, 50  
 illius et nitido stillent unguenta capillo,  
 et capite et collo mollia sarta gerat.  
 sic uenias, hodiernae Geni ; tibi turis honores  
 liba et Mopsopio dulcia melle feram.  
 at tibi succrescat proles, quae facta parentis 55  
 augeat et circa stet ueneranda senem.  
 nec taceat monumenta uiae, quem Tuscula tellus  
 candidaque antiquo detinet Alba Lare.  
 namque opibus congesta tuis hic glarea dura  
 sternitur, hic apta iungitur arte silex. 60  
 te canit agricola, a magna cum uenerit urbe  
 serus inoffensum rettuleritque pedem.  
 at tu, Natalis, multos celebrande per annos,  
 candidior semper candidiorque ueni.

40 tristitiae. 49 centum—geniumque.

53 hodiernae ; tibi dem. 56 uenerata.

61 agricola magna.

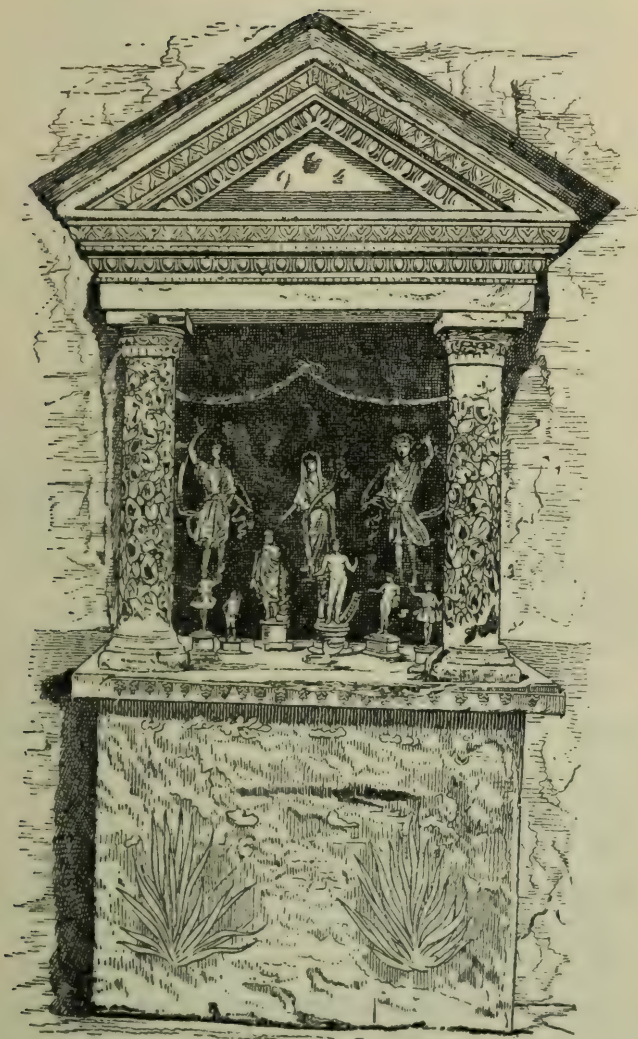


## 6

## I. x. 1—50

## W a r a n d P e a c e

Quis fuit, horrendos primus qui protulit enses ?  
 quam ferus et uere ferreus ille fuit !  
 tum caedes hominum generi, tum proelia nata,  
 tum breuior dirae mortis aperta uia est.  
 an nihil ille miser meruit, nos ad mala nostra      5  
 uertimus, in saeuas quod dedit ille feras ?  
 diuitis hoc uitium est auri ; nec bella fuerunt,  
 faginus adstabat cum scyphus ante dapes,  
 non arces, non uallus erat, somnumque petebat  
 securus uarias dux gregis inter oues.      10  
 tunc mihi uita foret, uigili nec tristia nossem  
 arma nec audissem corde micante tubam :  
 nunc ad bella trahor, et iam quis forsitan hostis  
 haesura in nostro tela gerit latere.  
 sed patrii seruate Lares : aluistis et idem,      15  
 cursarem uestros cum tener ante pedes.  
 neu pudeat prisco uos esse e stipite factos :  
 sic ueteris sedes incoluistis aui.  
 tum melius tenuere fidem, cum paupere cultu  
 stabat in exigua ligneus aede deus.      20



hic placatus erat, seu quis libauerat uuam,  
 seu dederat sanctae spicea sarta comae :  
 atque aliquis uoti compos liba ipse ferebat  
 postque comes purum filia parua fauum.  
 at nobis aerata, Lares, depellite tela, 25

\*

hostiaque e plena rustica porcus hara.  
 hanc pura cum ueste sequar myrtoque canistra  
 uincta geram, myrto uinctus et ipse caput.  
 sic placeam uobis : alius sit fortis in armis,  
 sternat et aduersos Marte fauente duces, 30  
 ut mihi potanti possit sua dicere facta  
 miles et in mensa pingere castra mero.  
 quis furor est atram bellis accersere mortem ?  
 imminet et tacito clam uenit illa pede.  
 non seges est infra, non uinea culta, sed audax 35  
 Cerberus et Stygiae nauita turpis aquae :  
 illic pertusisque genis ustoque capillo  
 errat ad obscuros pallida turba lacus.  
 quin potius laudandus hic est, quem prole parata  
 occupat in parua pigra senecta casa ! 40  
 ipse suas sectatur oues, at filius agnos,  
 et calidam fesso comparat uxor aquam.  
 sic ego sim, liceatque caput candescere canis,  
 temporis et prisca facta referre senem.  
 interea Pax arua colat. Pax candida primum 45  
 duxit araturos sub iuga curua boues ;

33 *arcessere.*

37 *percussisque.*

46 *panda.*

Pax aluit uites et sucos condidit uuae,  
funderet ut nato testa paterna merum ;  
pace bidens uomerque nitent, at tristia duri  
militis in tenebris occupat arma situs.

## 7

## II. i. 1—66

## The Country Festival

Quisquis adest, fauceat : fruges lustramus et agros,  
ritus ut a prisco traditus extat auo.

Bacche, ueni, dulcisque tuis e cornibus uua  
pendeat, et spicis tempora cinge, Ceres.

luce sacra requiescat humus, requiescat arator, 5  
et graue suspenso uomere cesset opus.

soluite uincla iugis : nunc ad praesepia debent  
plena coronato stare boues capite.

omnia sint operata deo : non audeat ulla  
lanificam pensis imposuisse manum. 10

uos quoque abesse procul iubeo, discedat ab aris,  
cui tulit hesterna gaudia nocte uenus.

casta placent superis : pura cum ueste uenite  
et manibus puris sumite fontis aquam.

cernite, fulgentes ut eat sacer agnus ad aras 15  
uinctaque post olea candida turba comas.

di patrii, purgamus agros, purgamus agrestes :  
uos mala de nostris pellite limitibus,

neu seges eludat messem fallacibus herbis,  
neu timeat celeres tardior agna lupos. 20

tunc nitidus plenis confisus rusticus agris  
ingeret ardenti grandia ligna foco,



turbaque uernarum, saturi bona signa coloni,

ludet et ex uirgis extruet ante casas.

euentura precor : uiden ut felicibus extis

significet placidos nuntia fibra deos ?

nunc mihi fumosos ueteris proferte Falernos

consulis et Chio soluite uincla cado.

uina diem celebrent : non festa luce madere

est rubor, errantes et male ferre pedes.

sed 'bene Messallam' sua quisque ad pocula dicat,

nomen et absentis singula uerba sonent.

gentis Aquitanae celebrer Messalla triumphis

et magna intonsis gloria uictor auis,

huc ades aspiraue mihi, dum carmine nostro

redditur agricolis gratia caelitibus.

rura cano rurisque deos. his uita magistris

desueuit querna pellere glande famem ;

illi compositis primum docuere tigillis

exiguam uiridi fronde operire domum ;

illi etiam tauros primi docuisse feruntur

seruitium et plaustro supposuisse rotam.

tum uictus abi<sup>er</sup>ere feri, tum consita pomus,

tum bibit inriguas fertilis hortus aquas ;

aurea tum pressos pedibus dedit uua liquores

mixtaque securo est sobria lymph<sup>a</sup> mero.

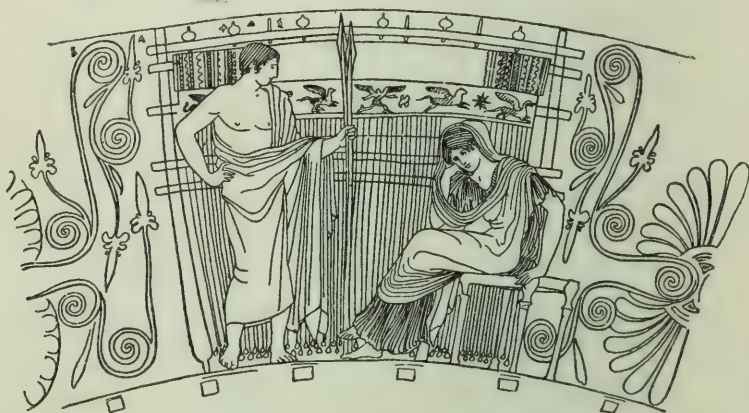
rura ferunt messes, calidi cum sideris aestu

deponit flauas annua terra comas.

rure leuis uerno flores ap<sup>i</sup>s ingerit alueo,

compleat ut dulci sedula melle fauos.

agricola adsiduo primum satiatus aratro  
cantauit certo rustica uerba pede  
et satur arenti primum est modulatus auena  
carmen, ut ornatos diceret ante deos ;  
agricola et minio suffusus, Bacche, rubenti  
primus inexperta duxit ab arte choros.  
huic datus a pleno, memorabile munus, ouili  
dux pecoris paruas auxerat hirtus opes.  
rure puer uerno primum de flore coronam  
fecit et antiquis imposuit Laribus.  
rure etiam, teneris curam exhibitura puellis,  
molle gerit tergo lucida uellus ouis.  
hinc et femineus labor est, hinc pensa colusque,  
fusus et adposito pollice uersat opus ;  
atque aliqua adsiduae texitrix operata Mineruae  
cantat, et a pulso tela sonat latere. †



58 dux pecoris hircus auxerat hircus oues.

65 assidue textis op. Mineruam. 66 appulso : applauso.

seus, - dix  
minium -  
vermilion,  
red sand.  
spring like

eat  
the shepherd's pipe  
suffused -  
suffused.  
55  
ouile, is in  
sheepfold.  
rural

60

distaff

a female  
weaver.

## 8

## II. ii.

## BIRTHDAY WISHES

Dicamus bona uerba : uenit Natalis ad aras :

quisquis ades, lingua, uir mulierque, faue.

urantur pia tura focis, urantur odores,

quos tener e terra diuite mittit Arabs.

ipse suos adsit Genius uisurus honores,

5

cui decorent sanctas mollia sarta comas.

illius puro destillent tempora nardo,

atque satur libo sit madeatque mero,

adnuat et, Cornute, tibi, quodcumque rogabis.

en, age (quid cessas ? adnuit ille) roga.

10

auguror, uxoris fidos optabis amores :

iam reor hoc ipsos edidicisse deos.

nec tibi malueris, totum quaecumque per orbem

fortis arat ualido rusticus arua boue,

nec tibi, gemmarum quidquid felicibus Indis

15

nascitur, Eoi qua maris unda rubet.

uota cadunt : uiden ut strepitantibus aduolet alis

flauaque coniugio uincula portet Amor,

uincula, quae maneant semper, dum tarda senectus

inducat rugas inficiatque comas.

20

haec ualeat, Natalis, auis prolemque ministret,

ludat et ante tuos turba nouella pedes.

5 Genius adsit. 17, 18 utinam str. aduolet—portet.

21 hic ueniat natalis.

## 9

## II. iii. 1—62

To the country, Love!

(1—36)

Rura meam, Cornute, tenent uillaeque puellam :  
 ferreus est, eheu, quisquis in urbe manet.  
 ipsa Venus latos iam nunc migravit in agros,  
 uerbaque aratoris rustica discit Amor.  
 o ego, dum aspicerem dominam, quam fortiter illic 5  
 uersarem ualido pingue bidente solum  
 agricolaeque modo curuum sectarer aratrum,  
 dum subigunt steriles arua serenda boues !  
 nec quererer, quod sol graciles exureret artus,  
 laederet et teneras pussula rupta manus. 10  
 pauit et Admeti tauros formosus Apollo,  
 nec cithara intonsae profueruntue comae,  
 nec potuit curas sanare salubribus herbis :  
 quidquid erat medicae uicerat artis amor.  
 ipse deus solitus stabulis expellere uaccas 15  
*dicitur . . . . .*  
 et miscere nouo docuisse coagula lacte,  
 lacteus et mixtis obriguisset liquor.  
 tum fiscella leui detexta est uimine iunci,  
 raraque per nexus est uia facta sero. 20

5 cum.

20 mixtus.

o quotiens illo uitulum gestante per agros  
 dicitur occurrens erubuisse soror !  
 o quotiens ausae, caneret dum ualle sub alta,  
 rumpere mugitu carmina docta boues !  
 saepe duces trepidis petiere oracula rebus, 25  
 uenit et a templis inrita turba domum ;  
 saepe horrere sacros doluit Latona capillos,  
 quos admirata est ipsa nouerca prius.  
 quisquis inornatumque caput crinesque solutos  
 aspiceret, Phoebi quaereret ille comam. 30  
 Delos ubi nunc, Phoebe, tua est, ubi Delphica  
 Python ?  
 nempe amor in parua te iubet esse casa.  
 felices olim, ueneri cum fertur aperte  
 seruire aeternos non puduisse deos.  
 fabula nunc ille est : sed cui sua cura puella est, 35  
 fabula sit mauult quam sine amore deus.  
 at tu, quisquis is es, cui tristi fronte Cupido  
 imperat ut nostra sint tua castra domo—

\*

## The Greed of the Age.

(39—62)

Ferrea non uenerem, sed praedam, saecula  
 laudant :  
 praeda tamen multis est operata malis. 40  
 praeda feras acies cinxit discordibus armis ;  
 hinc cruor, hinc caedes mors propiorque uenit.



praeda uago iussit geminare pericula ponto,  
 bellica cum dubiis rostra dedit ratibus.  
 praedator cupit immensos obsidere campos, 45  
 ut multa innumera iugera pascat oue ;  
 cui lapis externus curae est, urbisque tumultu  
 portatur ualidis mille columna iugis,  
 claudit et indomitum moles mare, lentus ut intra  
 neglegat hibernas piscis adesse minas. 50  
 at tibi laeta trahant Samiae conuiuia testae  
 fictaque Cumana lubrica terra rota.  
 eheu, diuitibus uideo gaudere puellas :  
 iam ueniant praedae, si Venus optat opes,  
 ut mea luxuria Nemesis fluat utque per urbem 55  
 incedat donis conspicienda meis.  
 illa gerat uestes tenues, quas femina Coa  
 texuit, auratas disposuitque uias ;  
 illi sint comites fusci, quos India torret,  
 solis et admotis inficit ignis equis ; 60  
 illi selectos certent praeberere colores  
 Africa puniceum purpureumque Tyros.

51 at mihi.

## 10

### II. iv. 1—34

#### Love and Lucre

Hic mihi seruitium uideo dominamque paratam :  
 iam mihi, libertas illa paterna, uale.

seruitium sed triste datur, teneorque catenis,  
 et numquam misero uincla remittit Amor,  
 et seu quid merui, seu nil peccauimus, urit. 5  
 uror, io, remoue, saeua puella, faces.  
 o ego, ne possim tales sentire dolores,  
 quam mallet in gelidis montibus esse lapis,  
 stare uel insanis cautes obnoxia uentis,  
 naufraga quam uasti tunderet unda maris ! 10  
 nunc et amara dies et noctis amarior umbra est :  
 omnia nam tristi tempora felle madent.  
 nec prosunt elegi nec carminis auctor Apollo :  
 illa caua pretium flagitat usque manu.  
 ite procul, Musae, si non prodestis amanti : 15  
 non ego uos, ut sint bella canenda, colo,  
 nec refero solisque uias et qualis, ubi orbem  
 compleuit, uersis luna recurrit equis.  
 ad dominam faciles aditus per carmina quaero :  
 ite procul, Musae, si nihil ista ualent. 20  
 at mihi per caedem et facinus sunt dona paranda,  
 ne iaceam clausam flebilis ante domum,  
 aut rapiam suspensa sacris insignia fanis ;  
 sed Venus ante alios est uiolanda mihi.  
 illa malum facinus suadet dominamque rapacem 25  
 dat mihi : sacrilegas sentiat illa manus !  
 o pereat, quicumque legit uiridesque smaragdos  
 et niueam Tyrio murice tingit ouem !

5 quid peccauimus.

10 uitrei : *Libyci*.

12 nunc.

addit auaritiae causas et Coa puellis  
uestis et e rubro lucida concha mari. 30  
haec fecere malas ; hinc clauim ianua sensit  
et coepit custos liminis esse canis.  
sed pretium si grande feras, custodia uicta est,  
nec prohibent clauēs, et canis ipse tacet.

29 hic dat.

## 11

## II. v

A new Guardian of the Sibylline  
Books

Phoebe, faue : nouus ingreditur tua templa sacerdos :

huc age cum cithara carminibusque ueni.

nunc te uocales impellere pollice chordas,

nunc precor ad laudes flectere uerba pias.

ipse triumphali deuinctus tempora lauro, 5

dum cumulant aras, ad tua sacra ueni.

sed nitidus pulcherque ueni : nunc indue uestem

sepositam, longas nunc bene pecte comas,

qualem te memorant, Saturno rege fugato,

uictori laudes concinuisse Ioui.

tu procul euentura uides, tibi deditus augur

scit bene quid fati prouida cantet auis ;

4 meas : *novas*.



tuque regis sortes, per te praesentit haruspex,  
 lubrica signauit cum deus exta notis;  
 te duce Romanos numquam frustrata Sibylla, 15  
 abdita quae senis fata canit pedibus!  
 Phoebe, sacras Messalinum sine tangere chartas  
 uatis, et ipse precor quid canat illa doce.  
 haec dedit Aeneae sortes, postquam ille parentem  
 dicitur et raptos sustinuisse Lares 20



nec fore credebat Romam, cum maestus ab alto  
 Ilion ardentes respiceretque deos.

(Romulus aeternae nondum formauerat urbis

moenia, consorti non habitanda Remo;  
 sed tunc pascebant herbosa Palatia uaccæ  
 et stabant humiles in Iouis arce casae. 25

lacte madens illic suberat Pan ilicis umbrae  
 et facta agresti lignea falce Pales;

pendebatque uagi pastoris in arbore uotum,  
 garrula siluestri fistula sacra deo,  
 fistula, cui semper decrescit harundinis ordo

nam calamus cera iungitur usque minor  
 at qua Velabri regio patet, ire solebat  
 exiguus pulsa per uada linter aqua.

illac saepe, gregis diti placitura magistro, 35  
 ad iuuenem festa est uecta puella die,



*note.*  
cum qua fecundi redierunt munera ruris,  
caseus et niueae candidus agnus ouis.)



*illegent*

*allusion is made  
to the great epic poem  
"Aeneid"*

'Impiger Aenea, uolitantis frater Amoris,  
Troica qui profugis sacra uehis ratibus,  
iam tibi Laurentes adsignat Iuppiter agros,  
iam uocat errantes hospita terra Lares :  
illic sanctus eris, cum te ueneranda Numici  
unda deum caelo miserit Indigetem.

40

*to heaven.*

ecce super fessas uolitat Victoria puppes ;  
tandem ad Troianos diua superba uenit.

45



ecce mihi lucent Rutulis incendia castris :  
 iam tibi praedico, barbare Turne, necem.  
 ante oculos Laurens castrum murusque Lauini est  
 Albaque ab Ascanio condita Longa duce. 50  
 te quoque iam uideo, Marti placitura sacerdos  
 Ilia, Vestales deseruisse focos,  
 concubitusque tuos furtim uittasque iacentes  
 et cupidi ad ripas arma relictas dei.



carpite nunc, tauri, de septem montibus herbas, 55  
 dum licet : hic magnae iam locus urbis erit.

Roma, tuum nomen terris fatale regendis,  
 qua sua de caelo prospicit arua Ceres,  
 quaque patent ortus et qua fluitantibus undis  
 solis anhelantes abluit amnis equos. 60

Troia quidem tunc se mirabitur et sibi dicet  
 uos bene tam longa consuluisse uia.  
 uera cano : sic usque sacras innoxia laurus  
 uescar, et aeternum sit mihi uirginitas.  
 haec cecinit uates et te sibi, Phoebe, uocauit, 65  
 iactauit fusas et caput ante comas.

\*

Quidquid Amalthea, quidquid Marpesia dixit  
 Herophile, Phyto Graia quod admonuit,  
 quaque Aniena sacras Tiburs per flumina sortes *comets.*  
 portarat sicco pertuleratque sinu, 70  
 haec fore dixerunt, belli mala signa, cometæ,  
 in terras multus deplueratque lapis ;  
 atque tubas atque arma ferunt strepitantia caelo  
 audita et lucos praecinuissse fugam,  
 et simulacra deum lacrimas fudisse tepentes *urum* 75  
 fataque uocales praemonuisse boues.  
 ipsum etiam Solem defectum lumine uidit  
 iungere pallentes nubilus annus equos.  
 haec fuerint olim : sed tu iam mitis, Apollo,  
 prodigia indomitis merge sub aequoribus. 80

68 Phoebæ grata.

69 quidque : *quasque*.

70 portarit—perlueritque.

71 *hae*—cometen.

72 multus ut in terras *deplueretque*.

79 fuerant.

ut succensa sacris crepitat bene laurea flammis,  
omine quo felix et sacer annus erit !

laurus ubi bona signa dedit, gaudete coloni ;

distendet spicis horrea plena Ceres,

oblitus et musto feriet pede rusticus uuas,

dolia dum magni deficiantque lacus.

ac madidus baccho sua festa Palilia pastor

concinet : a stabulis tunc procul este, lupi.

ille leuis stipulae sollemnis potus acervos

accendet, flammam transilietque sacras.

et fetus matrona dabit, natusque parenti

oscula comprensis auribus eripiet ;

nec taedebit auum paruo aduigilare nepoti

balbaque cum puero dicere uerba senem.

tunc operata deo pubes discumbet in herba,

arboris antiquae qua leuis umbra cadit,

aut e ueste sua tendent umbracula, sertis

uincta, coronatus stabit et ipse calix.

at sibi quisque dapes et festas extruet alte

caespitibus mensas caespitibusque torum.

ingeret hic potus iuuenis maledicta puellae,

postmodo quae uotis inrita facta uelit :

nam ferus ille suae plorabit sobrius idem

et se iurabit mente fuisse mala.

pace tua pereant arcus pereantque sagittae,

Phoebe, modo in terris erret inermis Amor.

ars bona : sed postquam sumpsit sibi tela Cupido,

cheu, quam multis ars dedit illa malum !

ear of corn  
new, fresh (wine)  
smeared...  
dittos (holding)  
vine)  
straw  
reed pipe,

offer (intended)  
= to worship

caespes—grass  
has been cut

vats  
85

90

a shady place,  
arbour,  
95 parasol  
of flowers.

100

105

et mihi praecipue, iaceo cum saucius annum  
 et (faueo morbo cum iuuat ipse dolor) 110  
 usque cano Nemesim, sine qua uersus mihi nullus  
 uerba potest, iustos aut reperire pedes.  
 at tu (nam diuum seruat tutela poetas),  
 praemoneo, uati parce, puella, sacro,  
 ut Messalinum celebrem, cum, praemia belli, 115  
 ante suos currus oppida uicta feret,  
 ipse gerens laurus : lauro deuinctus agresti  
 miles 'io' magna uoce 'trumphe' canet.  
 tum Messalla meus pia det spectacula turbae  
 et plaudat curru praetereunte pater. 120  
 adnue : sic tibi sint intonsi, Phoebe, capilli,  
 sic tua perpetuo sit tibi casta soror.

110 *dum.*120 *parens.*

## 12

## II. vi. 1—42

## Cruel Love

Castra Macer sequitur : tenero quid fiet Amori ?  
 sit comes et collo fortiter arma gerat ?  
 et seu longa uirum terrae uia seu uaga ducent  
 aequora, cum telis ad latus ire uolet ?  
 ure, puer, quaeso, tua qui ferus otia liquit,  
 atque iterum erronem sub tua signa uoca.



quod si militibus parces, erit hic quoque miles,  
ipse leuem galea qui sibi portet aquam.  
castra peto, ualeatque uenus ualeantque puellae :  
et mihi sunt uires, et mihi laeta tuba est. 10  
magna loquor, sed magnifice mihi magna locuto  
excutiunt clausae fortia uerba fores.  
iurauī quotiens rediturum ad limina numquam !  
cum bene iurauī, pes tamen ipse redit.  
acer Amor, fractas utinam, tua tela, sagittas, 15  
si licet, extinctas aspiciamque faces !  
tu miserum torques, tu me mihi dira precari  
cogis et insana mente nefanda loqui.  
iam mala finissem leto, sed credula uitam  
Spes fouet et fore cras semper ait melius. 20  
Spes alit agricolas, Spes sulcis credit aratis  
semina, quae magno faenore reddat ager ;  
haec laqueo uolucres, haec captat harundine pisces,  
cum tenues hamos abdidit ante cibus ;  
Spes etiam ualida solatur compede uinctum 25  
(crura sonant ferro, sed canit inter opus) ;  
Spes facilem Nemesim spondet mihi, sed negat illa,  
ei mihi ! ne uincas, dura puella, deam.  
parce, per immatura tuae precor ossa sororis :  
sic bene sub tenera parua quiescat humo. 30  
illa mihi sancta est, illius dona sepulcro  
et madefacta meis sarta feram lacrimis ;  
illius ad tumulum fugiam supplexque sedebo  
et mea cum muto fata querar cinere.

non feret usque suum te propter flere clientem : 35

illius ut uerbis, sis mihi lenta ueto,

ne tibi neglecti mittant mala somnia Manes,

maestaque sopitae stet soror ante torum,

qualis ab excelsa praeceps delapsa fenestra

uenit ad infernos sanguinolenta lacus. 40

desino, ne dominae luctus renouentur acerbi :

non ego sum tanti, ploret ut illa semel.

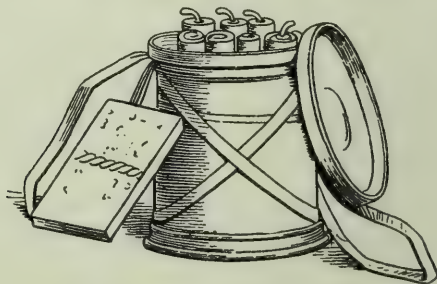
## LYGDAMUS

## 13

## III. i

To Neaera. A dedication

Martis Romani festae uenere kalendae  
 (exoriens nostris hic fuit annus auis),  
 et uaga nunc certa discurrunt undique pompa  
 perque uias urbis munera perque domos :  
 dicite, Pierides, quonam donetur honore 5  
 seu mea, seu fallor, cara Neaera tamen.  
 'Carmine formosae, pretio capiuntur auarae :  
 gaudeat, ut digna est, uersibus illa nouis.  
 lutea sed niueum inuoluat membrana libellum,  
 pumex et canas tondeat ante comas, 10  
 summaque praetexat tenuis fastigia chartae  
 indicet ut nomen littera facta tuum,  
 atque inter geminas pingantur cornua frontes :  
 sic etenim comptum mittere oportet opus.'



8 meis.

12 meum.

per uos, auctores huius mihi carminis, oro 15

Castalianque umbram Pieriosque lacus,  
ite domum cultumque illi donate libellum,  
sicut erit : nullus defluat inde color.

illa mihi referet, si nostri mutua cura est  
an minor, an toto pectore deciderim. 20

sed primum meritam larga donate salute  
atque haec submisso dicite uerba sono.

‘Haec tibi uir quondam, nunc frater, casta Neaera,  
mittit et accipias munera parua rogat,

teque suis iurat caram magis esse medullis, 25  
siue sibi coniunx siue futura soror,

sed potius coniunx : huius spem nominis illi  
auferet extincto pallida Ditis aqua.’

21 meritum.

## 14

### III. ii

#### When I am dead

Qui primus caram iuueni carumque puellae  
eripuit iuuenem, ferreus ille fuit.

durus et ille fuit, qui tantum ferre dolorem,  
uiuere et erepta coniuge qui potuit.

non ego firmus in hoc, non haec patientia nostro 5  
ingenio : frangit fortia corda dolor :

nec mihi uera loqui pudor est uitaeque fateri,  
 tot mala perpressae, taedia nata meae.  
 ergo cum tenuem fuero mutatus in umbram  
 candidaque ossa supra nigra fauilla teget, 10  
 ante meum ueniat longos incompta capillos  
 et fleat ante meum maesta Neaera rogam.  
 sed ueniat carae matris comitata dolore :  
 maereat haec genero, maereat illa uiro.  
 praefatae ante meos Manes animamque recentem 15  
 perfusaeque pias ante liquore manus,  
 pars quae sola mei superabit corporis, ossa  
 incinctae nigra candida ueste legent,  
 et primum annoso spargent collecta lyaeo,  
 mox etiam niueo fundere lacte parent, 20  
 post haec carbaseis umorem tollere uelis  
 atque in marmorea ponere sicca domo.  
 illic quas mittit diues Panchaia merces  
 Eoque Arabes, pinguis et Assyria,  
 et nostri memores lacrimae fundantur eodem : 25  
 sic ego componi uersus in ossa uelim.  
 sed tristem mortis demonstret littera causam  
 atque haec in celebri carmina fronte notet.  
*Lygdamus hic situs est : dolor huic et cura Neerae,*  
*coniugis ereptae, causa perire fuit.* 30

10 *super.*15 *rogate : precat.*23 *illuc.*24 *diues et.*



## 15

## III. iii

Not Wealth but to be friends

Quid prodest caelum uotis implesse, Neaera,  
 multaque cum blanda tura dedisse prece,  
 non ut marmorei prodirem e limine tecti,  
 insignis clara conspicuusque domo,  
 aut ut multa mei renouarent iugera tauri 5  
 et magnas messes terra benigna daret,  
 sed tecum ut longae sociarem gaudia uitae  
 inque tuo caderet nostra senecta sinu,  
 tum cum permenso defunctus tempore lucis  
 nudus Lethaea cogerer ire rate ? 10  
 nam graue quid prodest pondus mihi diuitis auri,  
 aruaque si findant pinguia mille boues ?  
 quidue domus prodest Phrygiis innixa columnis,  
 Taenare siue tuis, siue Caryste tuis,  
 et nemora in domibus sacros imitantia lucos 15  
 aurataeque trabes marmoreumque solum ?  
 quidue in Erythraeo legitur quae litore concha  
 tinctaque Sidonio murice lana iuuat,  
 et quae praeterea populus miratur ? in illis  
 inuidia est : falso plurima uulgus amat. 20  
 non opibus mentes hominum curaeque leuantur :  
 nam Fortuna sua tempora lege regit.

sit mihi paupertas tecum iucunda, Neaera :  
 at sine te regum munera nulla uolo.  
 haec alii cupiant : liceat mihi paupere cultu      25  
 securo cara coniuge posse frui.  
 o niueam, quae te poterit mihi reddere, lucem !  
 o mihi felicem terque quaterque diem !  
 at si, pro dulci reditu quaecumque uouentur,  
 audiat auersa non meus aure deus,      30  
 nec me regna iuuant nec Lydius aurifer amnis  
 nec quas terrarum sustinet orbis opes.  
 adsis et timidis faueas, Saturnia, uotis,  
 et faueas concha, Cypria, uecta tua ;  
 aut si fata negant reditum tristesque sorores,      35  
 stamina quae ducunt quaeque futura neunt,  
 me uocet in uastos amnes nigramque paludem  
 diues in ignaua luridus Orcus aqua.

36 *canunt.*

## 16

### III. iv

#### The Dream of Lygdamus

Di meliora ferant, nec sint insomnia uera,  
 quae tulit hesternā pessima nocte quies.  
 ite procul uani falsumque auertite uisum :  
 desinite in nobis quaerere uelle fidem.

4 uotis : *sanctis.*

diui uera monent, uenturae nuntia sortis 5  
 uera monent Tuscis exta probata uiris :  
 somnia fallaci ludunt temeraria nocte  
 et pauidas mentes falsa timere iubent,  
 et uanum metuens hominum genus omina noctis  
 farre pio placant et saliente sale ? 10  
 set tamen, utcumque est, siue illi uera monenti,  
 mendaci somno credere siue solent,  
 efficiat uanos noctis Lucina timores  
 et frustra immeritum pertimuisse uelit,  
 si mea nec turpi mens est obnoxia facto 15  
 nec laesit magnos impia lingua deos.  
 iam Nox aetherium nigris emensa quadrigis  
 mundum caeruleo lauerat amne rotas,  
 nec me sopierat menti deus utilis aegrae :  
 Somnus sollicitas deficit ante domos. 20  
 tandem, cum summo Phoebus prospexit ab ortu,  
 pressit languentis lumina sera quies.  
 hic iuuenis casta redimitus tempora lauro  
 est uisus nostra ponere sede pedem.  
 non illo quicquam formosius ulla priorum 25  
 aetas, heroum nec uidet ulla domus.  
 intonsi crines longa ceruice fluebant,  
 stillabat Syrio myrtea rore coma.  
 candor erat, qualem praefert Latonia Luna ;  
 et color in niueo corpore purpureus, 30  
 ut iuueni primum uirgo deducta marito  
 inficitur teneras ore rubente genas,

9 at natum maturas : et *natum in curas : ut uatum metuens.*  
 10 placent.      11 moneri.      12 uolent.      26 dedit.

et cum contexunt amarantis alba puellae  
 lilia et autumnno candida mala rubent.  
 ima uidebatur talis inludere palla : 35  
 namque haec in nitido corpore uestis erat.  
 artis opus rarae, fulgens testudine et auro  
 pendebat laeua garrula parte lyra.  
 hanc primum ueniens plectro modulatus eburno,  
 felices cantus ore sonante dedit : 40  
 sed postquam fuerant digiti cum uoce locuti,  
 edidit haec dulci tristia uerba modo.  
 ‘Salue, cura deum : casto nam rite poetae  
 Phoebusque et Bacchus Pieridesque fauent.  
 sed proles Semeles Bacchus doctaeque sorores 45  
 dicere non norunt, quid ferat hora sequens :  
 at mihi fatorum leges aeuique futuri  
 euentura pater posse uidere dedit.  
 quare ego quae dico non fallax accipe uates,  
 quodque deus uero Cynthius ore feram. 50  
 tantum cara tibi, quantum nec filia matri,  
 quantum nec cupido bella puella uiro,  
 pro qua sollicitas caelestia numina uotis,  
 quae tibi securos non sinit ire dies,  
 et cum te fusco somnus uelauit amictu, 55  
 uanum nocturnis fallit imaginibus,  
 carminibus celebrata tuis formosa Neaera  
 alterius mauult esse puella uiri,  
 diuersasque suas agitât mens impia curas,  
 nec gaudet casta nupta Neaera domo. 60

a ! crudele genus nec fidum femina nomen :  
a ! pereat, didicit fallere siqua uirum.  
sed flecti poterit : mens est mutabilis illis ;  
tu modo cum multa bracchia tende prece.  
saeuus Amor docuit ualidos temptare labores, 65  
saeuus Amor docuit uerbera posse pati.  
me quondam Admeti niueas pauisse iuuenças  
non est in uanum fabula ficta iocum.  
tunc ego nec cithara poteram gaudere sonora  
nec similes chordis reddere uoce sonos ; 70  
sed perlucenti cantum meditabar auena,  
ille ego Latonae filius atque Iouis.  
nescis quid sit amor, iuuenis, si ferre recusas  
immitem dominam coniugiumque ferum.  
ergo ne dubita blandas adhibere querelas : 75  
uincuntur molli pectora dura prece.  
quod si uera canunt sacris oracula templis,  
haec illi nostro nomine dicta refer :  
'Hoc tibi coniugium promittit Delius ipse :  
felix hoc, alium desine uelle uirum.' 80  
dixit, et ignauus defluxit corpore somnus.  
a ! ego ne possim tanta uidere mala.  
nec tibi crediderim uotis contraria uota  
nec tantum crimen pectore inesse tuo.  
nam te nec uasti genuerunt aequora ponti 85  
nec flammam uoluens ore Chimaera fero  
nec canis anguina redimitus terga caterua,  
cui tres sunt linguae tergeminumque caput,  
Scyllaque uirgineam canibus succincta figuram,  
nec te conceptain saeua leaena tulit, 90



barbara nec Scythiae tellus horrendaue Syrtis ;  
 sed culta et duris non habitanda domus  
 et longe ante alias omnes mitissima mater  
 isque pater quo non alter amabilior.  
 haec deus in melius crudelia somnia uertat  
 et iubeat tepidos inrita ferre Notos.

95

## 17

## III. v.

## Lygdamus sick

Vos tenet, Etruscis manat quae fontibus unda,  
 unda sub aestium non adeunda Canem,  
 nunc autem sacris Baiarum proxima lymphis,  
 cum se purpureo uere remittit humus.  
 at mihi Persephone nigram denuntiat horam :  
 immerito iuueni parce nocere, dea.  
 non ego temptaui, nulli temeranda piorum,  
 audax laudandae sacra docere deae,  
 nec mea mortiferis infecit pocula sucis  
 dextera nec cuiquam trita uenena dedit,  
 nec nos sacrilegos templis admouimus ignes,  
 nec cor sollicitant facta nefanda meum,  
 nec nos insanae meditantur iurgia mentis  
 impia in aduersos soluimus ora deos.  
 et nondum cani nigros laesere capillos,  
 nec uenit tardo curua senecta pede.

5

10

15

7 deorum : uirorum.

natalem primo nostrum uidere parentes,  
cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari.  
quid fraudare iuuat uitem crescentibus uuis  
et modo nata mala uellere poma manu? 20  
parcite, pallentes undas quicumque tenetis  
duraque sortiti tertia regna, dei.  
Elysios olim liceat cognoscere campos  
Lethaeamque ratem Cimmeriosque lacus,  
cum mea rugosa pallebunt ora senecta 25  
et referam pueris tempora prisca senex.  
atque utinam uano nequiquam terrear aestu!  
languent ter quinos sed mea membra dies.  
at uobis Tuscae celebrantur numina lymphae  
et facilis lenta pellitur unda manu. 30  
uiuete felices, memores et uiuite nostri,  
siue erimus seu nos fata fuisse uelint.  
interea nigras pecudes promittite Diti  
et niuei lactis pocula mixta mero.

## 18

## PANEGYRICVS MESSALLAE

## III. vii. (IV. i.) 39-81

## Messalla compared to Ulysses

Nam quis te maiora gerit castrisue foroue?  
 nec tamen hinc aut hinc tibi laus maiorue minorue, 40  
 iusta pari premitur ueluti cum pondere libra,  
 qualis, inaequatum si quando onus urguet utrimque,  
 instabilis natat alterno depressior orbe,  
 prona nec hac plus parte sedet nec surgit ab illa.  
 nam seu diuersi fremat inconstantia uulgi, 45  
 non alius sedare queat, seu iudicis ira  
 sit placanda, tuis poterit mitescere uerbis.  
 non Pylos aut Ithace tantos genuisse feruntur  
 Nestora uel paruae magnum decus urbis Ulixem,  
 uixerit ille senex quamuis, dum terna per orbem 50  
 saecula fertilibus Titan decurreret horis,  
 ille per ignotas audax errauerit urbes,  
 qua maris extremis tellus includitur undis.  
 nam Ciconumque manus aduersis reppulit armis,  
 nec ualuit lotos captos auertere cursus, 55  
 cessit et Aetnaeae Neptunius incola rupis  
 uicta Maroneo foedatus lumina baccho :  
 uexit et Aeolios placidum per Nerea uentos :

incultos adiit Laestrygonas Antiphatenque,  
 nobilis Artacie gelida quos inrigat unda : 60  
 solum nec doctae uerterunt pocula Circes,  
 quamuis illa foret Solis genus, apta uel herbis  
 aptaque uel cantu ueteres mutare figuras :  
 Cimmerion etiam obscuras accessit ad arces,  
 quis numquam candente dies adparuit ortu, 65  
 seu supra terras Phoebus seu curreret infra :  
 uidit, ut inferno Plutonis subdita regno  
 magna deum proles leuibus ius diceret umbris,  
 praeteriitque cita Sirenum litora puppi.  
 illum inter geminae nanthem confinia mortis 70  
 nec Scyllae saeuo conterruit impetus ore,  
 cum canibus rabidas inter fera serperet undas,  
 nec uiolenta suo consumpsit more Charybdis,  
 uel si sublimis fluctu consurgeret imo,  
 uel si interrupto nudaret gurgite pontum. 75  
 non uiolata uagi sileantur pascua Solis,  
 non amor et fecunda Atlantidos arua Calypsus,  
 finis et erroris miseri Phaeacia tellus.  
 atque haec seu nostras inter sunt cognita terras,  
 fabula siue nouum dedit his erroribus orbem, 80  
 sit labor illius, tua dum facundia, maior.

63 *captas.*68 *discurreret umbris.*

## 19

## III. viii. (IV. ii.)

## To Sulpicia on the Ladies' Kalends

Sulpicia est tibi culta tuis, Mars magne, kalendis :  
 spectatum e caelo, si sapis, ipse ueni.  
 hoc Venus ignoscet : at tu, uiolente, caueto  
 ne tibi miranti turpiter arma cadant.  
 illius ex oculis, cum uult exurere diuos, 5  
 accendit geminas lampadas acer Amor.  
 illam, quidquid agit, quoquo uestigia mouit,  
 componit furtim subsequiturque Decor.  
 seu soluit crines, fuis decet esse capillis :  
 seu compsit, comptis est ueneranda comis. 10  
 urit, seu Tyria uoluit procedere palla :  
 urit, seu niuea candida ueste uenit.  
 talis in aeterno felix Vertumnus Olympo  
 mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet.  
 sola puellarum digna est, cui mollia caris 15  
 uellera det sucis bis madefacta Tyros,  
 possideatque, metit quidquid bene olentibus aruis  
 cultor odoratae diues Arabs segetis,  
 et quascumque niger rubro de litore gemmas  
 proximus Eois colligit Indus aquis. 20  
 hanc uos, Pierides, festis cantate kalendis,  
 et testudinea Phoebe superbe lyra.  
 hoc sollemne sacrum multos haec sumet in annos :  
 dignior est uestro nulla puella choro.



## 20

## III. x. (IV. iv.)

May she recover!

Huc ades et tenerae morbos expelle puellae,  
 huc ades, intonsa Phoebe superbe coma.  
 crede mihi, propera : nec te iam, Phoebe, pigebit  
 formosae medicas adplicuisse manus.  
 effice ne macies pallentes occupet artus, 5  
 neu notet informis candida membra color,  
 et quodcumque mali est et quidquid triste timemus,  
 in pelagus rapidis euehat amnis aquis.  
 sancte, ueni, tecumque feras, quicumque saporis,  
 quicumque et cantus corpora fessa leuant : 10  
 neu iuuenem torque, metuit qui fata puellae  
 uotaque pro domina uix numeranda facit ;  
 interdum uouet, interdum, quod langueat illa,  
 dicit in aeternos aspera uerba deos.  
 pone metum, Cerinthe ; deus non laedit amantes. 15  
 tu modo semper ama : salua puella tibi est.  
 nil opus est fletu ; lacrimis erit aptius uti,  
 si quando fuerit tristior illa tibi.  
 at nunc tota tua est, te solum candida secum  
 cogitat, et frustra credula turba sedet. 20  
 Phoebe, faue ; laus magna tibi tribuetur in uno  
 corpore seruato restituuisse duos.

iam celebr, iam laetus eris, cum debita reddet  
 certatim sanctis gratus uterque focis.  
 tunc te felicem dicet pia turba deorum,  
 optabunt artes et sibi quisque tuas.

25

24 laetus : *lautus*.

## 21

III. xii. (IV. vi.)

### Her Birthday Prayer

Natalis Iuno, sanctos cape turis acervos,  
 quos tibi dat tenera docta puella manu.  
 lota tibi est hodie, tibi se laetissima compsit,  
 staret ut ante tuos conspicienda focos.  
 illa quidem ornandi causas tibi, diua, relegat : 5  
 est tamen, occulte cui placuisse uelit.  
 at tu, sancta, faue, neu quis diuellat amantes,  
 sed iuueni quaeso mutua uincla para.  
 sic bene compones : ullae non ille puellae  
 seruire aut cuiquam dignior illa uiro. 10  
 nec possit cupidus uigilans deprendere custos,  
 fallendique uias mille ministret Amor.  
 adnue purpureaque ueni perlucida palla.  
 ter tibi fit libo, ter, dea casta, mero,  
 praecipit et natae mater studiosa, quod optet : 15  
 illa aliud tacita, iam sua, mente rogat.

3 tota.

uritur, ut celeres urunt altaria flammae,  
nec, liceat quamuis, sana fuisse uelit.  
sis, Iuno, grata, ut, ueniet cum proximus annus,  
hic idem uotis iam uetus adsit amor. 20

19 si iuueni grata ueniet.

## 22

## III. xiv. (IV. viii.)

## A birthday without Cerinthus

Inuisus natalis adest, qui rure molesto  
 et sine Cerinthe tristis agendus erit.  
 dulcius urbe quid est? an uilla sit apta puellae  
 atque Arretino frigidus amnis agro?  
 iam, nimium Messalla mei studiose, quiescas 5  
 non tempestivae, saepe propinque, uiae.  
 hic animum sensusque meos abducta relinquo,  
 arbitrio quam uis non sinit esse meo.

4 *Arnus*.      6 neu—saepe.      8 quamuis.

## 23

## III. xvii. (IV. xi.)

## From the sick bed

Estne tibi, Cerinthe, tuae pia cura puellae,  
 quod mea nunc uexat corpora fessa calor?  
 a! ego non aliter tristes euincere morbos  
 optarim, quam te si quoque uelle putem.  
 at mihi quid prosit morbos euincere, si tu 5  
 nostra potes lento pectore ferre mala?

## 24

III. xviii. (IV. xii.)

## A n A p o l o g y

Ne tibi sim, mea lux, aequae iam feruida cura,  
ac uideor paucos ante fuisse dies,  
si quicquam tota commisi stulta iuuenta,  
cuius me fatear paenituisse magis,  
hesterna quam te solum quod nocte reliqui, 5  
ardorem cupiens dissimulare meum.



## 25

## III. xix. (IV. xiii.)

## Verses

Nulla tuum nobis subducet femina lectum :  
 hoc primum iuncta est foedere nostra uenus.  
 tu mihi sola places, nec iam te praeter in urbe  
 formosa est oculis ulla puella meis.  
 atque utinam posses uni mihi bella uideri ! 5  
 displiceas aliis : sic ego tutus ero.  
 nil opus inuidia est, procul absit gloria uulgi :  
 qui sapit, in tacito gaudeat ille sinu.  
 sic ego secretis possum bene uiuere siluis,  
 qua nulla humano sit uia trita pede. 10  
 tu mihi curarum requies, tu nocte uel atra  
 lumen, et in solis tu mihi turba locis.  
 nunc licet e caelo mittatur amica Tibullo,  
 mittetur frustra deficietque uenus.  
 hoc tibi sancta tuae Iunonis numina iuro, 15  
 quae sola ante alios est mihi magna deos.  
 quid facio demens ? eheu, mea pignora cedo.  
 iuraui stulte : proderat iste timor.  
 nunc tu fortis eris, nunc tu me audacius ures :  
 hoc peperit misero garrula lingua malum. 20  
 iam, facias quodcumque uoles, tuus usque manebo,  
 nec fugiam notae seruitium dominae,  
 sed Veneris sanctae considam uinctus ad aras :  
 haec notat iniustos supplicibusque fauet.  
 8 ipse.      16 est tibi.      21 faciam.

## 26

OVID, *Amores*, III. ix.

Tibullus is dead

Memnona si mater, mater ploravit Achillem,  
 et tangunt magnas tristia fata deas,  
 flebilis indignos, Elegia, solue capillos :  
 a ! nimis ex uero nunc tibi nomen erit.  
 ille tui uates operis, tua fama, Tibullus 5  
 ardet in extructo, corpus inane, rogo.  
 ecce, puer Veneris fert euersamque pharetram  
 et fractos arcus et sine luce facem.  
 adspice, demissis ut eat miserabilis alis  
 pectoraque infesta tundat aperta manu. 10  
 excipiunt lacrimas sparsi per colla capilli,  
 oraque singultu concutiente sonant.  
 fratris in Aeneae sic illum funere dicunt  
 egressum tectis, pulcher Iule, tuis. .  
 nec minus est confusa Venus moriente Tibullo, 15  
 quam iuueni rupit cum ferus inguen aper.  
 at sacri uates et diuum cura uocamur ;  
 sunt etiam qui nos numen habere putent.  
 scilicet omne sacrum Mors importuna profanat ;  
 omnibus obscuras inicit illa manus. 20  
 quid pater Ismario, quid mater profuit Orpheo ?  
 carmine quid uictas obstipuisse feras ?

et *Linon* in siluis idem pater *aelinon* altis  
 dicitur inuita concinuisse lyra.  
 adice Maeoniden, a quo, ceu fonte perenni, 25  
 uatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis.  
 hunc quoque summa dies nigro submersit Auerno :  
 effugiunt auidos carmina sola rogos.  
 durat opus uatum, Troiani fama laboris,  
 tardaue nocturno tela retexta dolo. 30  
 sic Nemesis longum, sic Delia nomen habebunt,  
 altera cura recens, altera primus amor.  
 quid uos sacra iuuant ? quid nunc Aegyptia prosunt  
 sistra ? quid in uacuo secubuisse toro ?  
 cum rapiunt mala fata bonos, (ignoscite fasso) 35  
 sollicitor nullos esse putare deos.  
 uiue pius : moriere pius ; cole sacra : colentem  
 Mors grauis a templis in caua busta trahet ;  
 carminibus confide bonis : iacet, ecce, Tibullus ;  
 uix manet e toto, parua quod urna capit. 40  
 tene, sacer uates, flammae rapuere rogales,  
 pectoribus pasci nec timuere tuis ?  
 aurea sanctorum potuissent templa deorum  
 urere, quae tantum sustinuere nefas.  
 auertit uultus, Erycis quae possidet arces : 45  
 sunt quoque qui lacrimas continuisse negent.  
 sed tamen hoc melius, quam si Phaeacia tellus  
 ignotum uili supposuisset humo :  
 hic certe madidos fugientis pressit ocellos  
 mater et in cineres ultima dona tulit ; 50

28 diffugiunt.

46 negant.

49 and 51 hinc.

hic soror in partem misera cum matre doloris  
 uenit, inornatas dilaniata comas,  
 cumque tuis sua iunxerunt Nemesisque priorque  
 oscula nec solos destituere rogos.  
 Delia descendens 'Felicius' inquit 'amata 55  
 sum tibi : uixisti, dum tuus ignis eram.'  
 cui Nemesis 'Quid' ait 'tibi sunt mea damna  
 dolori ?  
 me tenuit moriens deficiente manu.'  
 si tamen e nobis aliquid nisi nomen et umbra  
 restat, in Elysia ualle Tibullus erit : 60  
 obuius huic uenias hedera iuuenalia cinctus  
 tempora cum Caluo, docte Catulle, tuo ;  
 tu quoque, si falsum est temerati crimen amici,  
 sanguinis atque animae prodige Galle tuae.  
 his comes umbra tua est, siqua est modo corporis  
 umbra ; 65  
 auxisti numeros, culte Tibulle, pios.  
 ossa quieta, precor, tuta requiescite in urna,  
 et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo !

## 27

### MARSUS

Alas, Virgil and Tibullus both !  
 Te quoque Vergilio comitem non aequa, Tibulle,  
 Mors iuuenem campos misit ad Elysios,  
 ne foret aut elegis molles qui fleret amores  
 aut caneret forti regia bella pede.





## NOTES

[N.L.P., *New Latin Primer*, cited by sections.  
R., *Roby's Latin Grammar*, cited by sections.]

### 1 [I. I.]

THIS is the preface to the first book of Tibullus' elegies. It is in the true sense a preface, for it touches upon everything that the poet deemed essential. Peace, contentment, the rustic life, ancient religion, and the constant companionship of a much-loved mistress—each of these favourite topics finds its place in the poem, which is constructed with a care and skill as great as it is unobtrusive.

#### ARGUMENT.

Let the avaricious bear the burdens of warfare (1—4). My humble fortune is enough for me (5, 6). I am sick of marching and campaigning: my heart turns to the rest and the peaceful work of my country home (7—16). May heaven bless my rustic labours with increase (17—22). For though my ancestral wealth is lost, I never forget the gods, but observe all ancient rites and pay to each of them his due out of my humble stores (23—40). I do not pine for the riches that are gone. I am content if I have a place where to lay my head and Delia be at my side. Let me have this, and neither gold nor emeralds shall tempt me (41—52). Let triumphs be thine, Messalla: and let me be called a stay-at-home. I am bound to Delia until the day I shall die and she follow me weeping to the tomb (53—68). Meantime let us disport ourselves in love; for death and age will be with us before we know it (69—74). Here is the field of war for me. Let the trumpet sound for others. I fear not poverty, and I covet not wealth (75—78).

1. *diuitias fuluo...auro* 'treasure of yellow gold.' Compare '*diues aurum*' 6. 7 and elsewhere. The abl. appears to be one of the material though it may be one of the 'means,' if taken with *congerat*. *congerat*, of heaping up coins (or ingots); cf. the imitation in [Ovid] *Heroides* 17. 224 '*congestoque auri pondere diues ero*' and Lucan 7. 753.

2. *teneat* 'occupy,' in many cases dispossessing the original owner. Tibullus is thinking of his own misfortunes, as indeed we may see from *culti* which gives a pathetic touch. Compare the language of Virgil *Ecl.* 1. 70 '*haec tam culta nonalia miles habebit*' and cf. Propertius, 4. 1. 130 '*abstulit excultas pertica tristis opes*' in speaking of similar confiscations. *multa* Crit. App.

3. *labor* 'hard fighting'; Prop. 4. 1. 140 '*nam tibi uictrices quascumque labore parasti, | eludet palmas una puella tuas,*' and so in Caesar (e.g. *B.G.* 7. 41. 2) and other writers. *uicino hoste* appears to be an abl. abs. In sense, however, it goes closely with *terreat*; compare Ovid's imitation *Ep. ex Pont.* 4. 9. 82 '*et quam uicino terrear hoste roga.*' The subjunctives express 'desire' (N.L.P. 217 A.) They correspond to *congerat*, 'Let him be rich, but let him live a life of unrest,' i.e. that is the price he must pay. We may translate 'Who must live in constant fighting and alarms; for a foe is at his gates.' (For similar subjunctives see 3. 32, 3. 6).

4. *Martia...classica pulsa* 'the outburst of the signals for the fray.' The neuter adj. *classicum* when used as a noun, as here, means the *signal* for engaging which was given on the trumpet. And so elsewhere in the classical literature: Virg. *Georg.* 2. 539 '*audierant inflari classica,*' is no exception, for the acc. there is like that in '*inflare sonum,*' Cic. *de or.* 3 § 225. *Pello* often means little more than to set in motion; cf. *pulso* 7. 66 and note on *repulsa* 2. 24.

5. *paupertas* 'humble lot,' not poverty (*egestas*) but limited means. Porphyryon, commenting on Horace *Ep.* 2. 2. 199 '*paupertas etiam honestae parsimoniae nomen est et usurpatur in fortuna mediocri.*' *uita...inerti* 'along an inactive life,' abl. of route (N.L.P. 150). There is a covert allusion to the application of *traducere* to solemn processions, e.g. Suet. *Cal.* 15 '*carpentum quo in pompa traduceretur.*' 'I care not to pace in triumphal processions; let a humbler walk of life be mine.' The lines of Gray's elegy will occur to

the English reader. 'Along the cool sequester'd vale of life | They kept the noiseless tenour of their way.'

6. **adsiduo**. Martial (10. 47. 4) mentions a constant fire (*focus perennis*) amongst the things 'quae uitam faciunt beatiorem.' No contrast with *adsiduo* v. 3 is intended. See *Introductio* p. xxviii. **luceat**. Statius alludes to this line, *Siluae* l. 2. 255 'diesque foco lucente Tibullus' 'Tibullus rich enough if his fire burn bright.'

7. **mihi** to be taken with **uiuere** 'to live for myself' (*Crit. App.*). **paruo**, instr. abl. (N.L.P. 150, R. 1214) 'by means of a little' 'on a little.'

8. **deditus**, wholly occupied in; so in *Lucr.* 4. 996 'fugae quasi *dedita* cernant.' **longae...uiaae**, of long marches; cf. 12. 3.

9. **Canis aestiuos ortus** 'the hot rising of the Dog Star,' i.e. the heat at the Dog Star's rising. For *aestiuos* compare I. iv. 6 'aestiui tempora sicca Canis.' See also *Crit. App.*

10. **riuos** 'a rill' by **arboris** need be no difficulty, as in indefinite expressions the Roman poets often (and the prose-writers sometimes) shift from singular to plural; cf. *patrum* —*auo* (41 sq.), *serpentum ore* 3. 71. The plural here gives life to the passing water. *Riui* is used of a single stream in *Culex* 149, a poem ascribed to Virgil.

11. **tamen**, i.e. 'though I desire the ease of the country, I will myself take some share in its labours'; cf. *ipse* in v. 15. **bidentes** 'a hoe' (see last note), a heavy implement; cf. 9. 6. **tenuisse**, aor. inf.: in the poets used indifferently with the present in such constructions.

12. **increpuisse** 'to chide'; here of physical correction. So in *Ov. Met.* 14. 820 sq. 'inpauidus conscendit equos Gradius et ictu | uerberis increpuit' and *Stat. Theb.* 3. 431 'terga comanque deae Scythica pater increpat hasta' 'urges her on by striking her with the spear-butt.'

13. We all know the picture of the Good Shepherd carrying a lamb or kid. Compare also 9. 21 n.

15. **teneras**. The slight and delicate vine-plants are opposed to the larger and sturdier fruit-trees. The contrast will be readily understood if *Virg. G.* 2. 362–419 be compared with what follows in vv. 426–428.

16. **facili** in an active sense 'expert' 'adroit'; cf. *Ov. A. A.* 1. 159 *sq.* 'fuit utile multis, | pulvinum **facili** composuisse manu.' **poma**, cf. 7. 43 n.

17. **Spes** is half-personified, the power that inspires us with hopes; cf. 12. 20-28. It is often used in connexion with agriculture. **destituat** 'leave me forlorn'; compare *Liv.* 1. 41. 1 'si destituat spes, alia praesidia molitur.' The word properly means to 'set down'; hence 'leave in the lurch,' 'disappoint.'

18. **pingui** 'rich,' 'generous' opposed to *tenuē* 'thin.' **musta**, the fresh wine still in the brimming vat.

19. **rure** 'farm,' as often in Terence.

20. **spicea**. Ears of corn plaited together to form a chaplet was a harvest offering to Ceres; cf. 6. 22 and *Hor. Carm. Saec.* 29 *sq.* 'fertilis frugum pecorisque tellus | **spicea** donet Cererem corona.'

21. **pomosis** 'full of fruit'; hence a **custos** is required. In *Prop.* 4. 2. 17 'pomosa corona' means a garland made of fruits strung together. **custos**, pred. with **ponatur**. The subject is *Priapus* in the next line; cf. 13. 12.

22. **Priapus**, the god of gardens, whose worship was imported from Lampsacus on the Hellespont. He was usually represented with a *falx*, or curved pruning knife, in his hands, and his figure was painted red.

23 *sq.* **nam** elliptical, 'Nor shall I be disappointed. For I neglect no religious duty.' **ueneror** 'worship.' The object is to be supplied from the following nominatives. **stipes...lapis**; rude and almost shapeless figures in wood or stone, *e.g.* of Terminus, the god of boundaries, *Ov. Fast.* 2. 641 *sq.* 'Termine, siue lapis siue es defossus in agro | stipes ab antiquis, tu quoque numen habes.' Their sacred character is indicated by the garlands hanging on them. **desertus** 'lonely,' which contrasts with **in triuio**, cf. *Prop.* 1. 17. 2 'nunc ego *desertas* adloquor alcyonas.' **florida**. See *Crit. App.* **lapis**. Lucretius, 5. 1198, says it is no true worship 'uelatum saepe uideri | uertier *ad lapidem*.'

23, 24. 'And from all the fruit which a new season matures for me, I set the first before the country's guardian god.'

25. **annus**, not 'year' but 'season'; cf. *Virg. G.* 2. 516 *sqq.*



'nec requies quin aut pomis exuberet *annus* | aut fetu pecorum aut Cerealis mergite culmi | prouentuque oneret sulcos atque horrea uincat.' Hor. *Carm.* 3. 23. 8 '*pomifero* graue tempus *anno*.' This is proved by *educat* which means 'rears' 'matures,' Ovid *ex Ponto* 1. 3. 51 '*non ager hic pomum, non dulces educat uuas*.' There were of course no fresh fruits at the New Year.

26. *libatum*, not limited to drink-offerings (libations); cf. 6. 21. The gods must have their share of all things first. Pliny says *N. H.* 18, § 8 '*ne degustabant quidem nouas fruges aut uina antequam sacerdotes primitias libassent*.' *ponitur ante*, i.e. anteponitur. For the position of *ante*, cf. Cic. *de Off.* 3, § 71 '*mala bonis ponit ante*.' The student should bear in mind that 'prepositions' are properly adverbs and were originally separate from their verbs. *agricolae...deo*, see note on 3. 27. What Tibullus tells us here agrees well with what Vertumnus, the god of the changing seasons, says of himself in Prop. 4. 2. 11 *sqq.* '*seu quod uertentes fructum praecepimus anni, | Vertumni rursus credis id esse sacrum. | prima mihi uariat liuentibus uua racemis | et coma lactenti spicea fruge tumet*' etc.

27. *felicis...pauperis*, from the owner's point of view. His property was 'poor' and less 'thriving' than formerly because it was so much diminished in extent. In a similar lament Virgil uses *felix quondam* of the flock of the dispossessed owner, *Ecl.* 1. 74 '*ite meae, felix quondam pecus, ite capellae*.'

28. *fertis*. Compare Ov. *Am.* 3. 6. 66 '*munera promissis uberiora feres*.' This not uncommon sense of *fero* 'bear away' 'receive' is expressed in Greek by the middle of *φέρω*. *Lares*. It is not certain whether these were the *Lares compitales* worshipped at cross-roads (*compita*) who were supposed to be the guardians of the neighbouring estates, or the *Lares domestici* (*familiares*) guardians of the house.

30. *hostia*, the name of the young unweaned animals offered for sacrifice as *uituli*, *agni*. The adult animals, e.g. oxen, sheep, were called *uictimae*.

32. *clamet* 'is to shout,' 'shall shout.' *messes, bonas* is to be supplied from *bona uina* which follows; cf. 2. 17, 11. 22 n. and *Introduct.* xxxi. So where the adj. is a predicate; 5. 43.

34. For the omission of *est* cf. 2. 43.



35. *hinc* (Cr. App.), *i.e.* de meo grege. He asks that his small flock may be spared that he may still have the where-withal to pay his offerings to the gods. *pastorem*. One shepherd marks a small estate. *quotannis*, on the Parilia or Palilia, the 21st of April.

36. *placidam*, a kind of proleptic use. The goddess's favour is secured by sprinkling her with milk; cf. 11. 27.

38. *puris* 2. 26 n. *fictilibus*. Earthenware (*fictilia*) was used in public sacrifices till much later times. Plin. *N.H.* 35, § 158 says 'in sacris quidem etiam inter has opes hodie non murrinis crystallinisue sed fictilibus prolibatur simpulis.' But in private sacrifices it was even now being supplanted by more costly materials. This explains the somewhat apologetic tone of Tibullus.

39, 40. This couplet comes in rather awkwardly. The connexion of thought should be the same as in 6. 17 *sq.* (which see) *viz.* 'the use of this humble material for your service dates from the good old days of yore'; but the words hardly express this.

40. *facili* 'easily worked', 'yielding'; so '*facilis cera*' in Ov. *Met.* 15. 169. *composuitque*. For the displaced '*que*' see Introd. p. xxix. The usual order is '*deque facili luto composuit.*'

41. *fructus* 'returns', 'produce.' *requiro* implies dis-appointment.

42. *condita* 'garnered'; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 1. 9 *sq.* '*si proprio condidit horreo | quicquid de Libycis uerritur areis.*' *auo* dative with *condita*; cf. N.L.P. 312 (1). For the change of number *patrum...auo* cf. *supra* 10 n.

43. *lecto*, *i.e.* not on the ground as a soldier. The same idea is to be traced in *solito* and *toro* (v. 44).

44. *leuare*, lit. 'lighten,' here 'rest'; Ov. *Fasti* 6. 328 '*pars iacet et molli gramine membra leuat,*' id. *Amores* 1. 5. 2 '*adposui medio membra leuanda toro.*'

46. 'And hold my lady locked in my soft embrace.' *tenero*, cf. l. ii. 73 *sq.* '*et te dum liceat teneris retinere lacertis | mollis et inculta sit mihi somnus humo.*' *continuisse*, cf. Crit. App. and for the tense 11 n.

47. 'When the stormy south wind showers the chilling rain.' *hibernus* is the adj. of *hiemps* 'storm' as well as of

*hiemps* 'winter.' **Auster** (Gk. *Nótos*) is often mentioned as a rainy wind; cf. *Ov. ex Ponto* 2. 1. 25 sq. 'cum multis lucibus ante | fuderit adsiduas nubilus Auster aquas.'

48. **iuuante**. Instead of causing discomfort the pattering rain will only be a lullaby, *Livy* 24. 46. 5 'imber lentior deinde aequaliorque accidens auribus magnam partem hominum sopiuit.' **somnos...sequi**, to seek sleep and find it.

51. The order is 'O, quantum auri est smaragdique pereant potius'; similar disarrangements of words are not uncommon in Latin poetry. Cf. 5. 49, 4. 81. **smaragdi** is probably plural; it is less likely to have been used in the singular as a collective noun. **pereat** agrees with the nearest subject, *N.L.P.* 122 (A).

52. **uias**, *i.e.* my campaigning; cf. 8 n.

53. **Messalla**. See on 5. *ἡμεῖς* p. xi†

54. **praeferat**. The spoils taken from the enemy by Roman generals, after being borne in the triumphal procession, were fastened up in front of their houses; cf. *Livy* 38. 43. 11 'spolia eius urbis ante currum laturus et fixurus in postibus suis,' 10. 7. 9 'quorum domos spoliis hostium adfixis insignes inter alias feceritis.'

55. The sense is 'You are free to be a conqueror abroad; but I must stay at home, a poor captive, fast bound by invisible chains.' **uictum**. See *Crit. App.* **uincla puellae**; cf. *Hor. Carm.* 4. 11. 21 sqq. 'Telephum quem tu petis occupauit | non tuae sortis iuuenem puella | diues et lasciua tenetque grata | compede uinctum.'

56. **ianitor** 'a very doorkeeper'; more emphatic than if he had said 'like a doorkeeper'; so *Hor. Ep.* 2. 2. 28 'uehemens lupus' a regular wild wolf. In Roman houses these were chained to their places like dogs; cf. *Ov. Am.* 1. 6. 1 'ianitor, (indignum!) dura religate catena.' **duras**, *i.e.* closed.

57. **laudari**. *laus*, *laudare* have a special reference to military achievements; see 11. 4 n.

58. **segnis** 'sluggard,' but **iners** 'idler' 'fainéant'; cf. 71 n.

60. **deficiente manu** 'in failing clasp,' a euphemism for dying. *Suet. Aug.* 99 'in hac uoce defecit' 'he expired with

these words.' Ovid refers to this line in his elegy on Tibullus 26. 58 (below.)

61. *arsuro*, i.e. destined to the flames. The *lectus funebris* or bier is meant; cf. Ov. *Met.* 14. 746 sq. 'funera ducebat mediam lacrimosa per urbem | luridaque *arsuro* portabat membra *feretro*.'

63, 64. *praecordia* means properly the midriff or diaphragm, i.e. the membrane in front of the heart (*prae corde*), dividing it from the stomach. If this were 'bound with iron,' nothing could get into the heart. The sense of the couplet is 'your heart is not bound with iron nor itself of stone,' i.e. 'you are not hard-hearted'; cf. Ov. *Trist.* 1. 8. 41 sq. 'et tua sunt silicis *circum praecordia* uenae | et rigidum ferri semina pectus habent.' *uineta*, used of a bracelet encircling the arm in Tib. I. ix. 69 'auroque lacertos | uinciat.'

66. *sicca*, i.e. without weeping.

67. *tu* does not emphasize the person but the request. So often in Latin; e.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 9. 15 sq. 'nec dulcis amores | sperne, puer, neque tu choreas.' *laede* 'pain,' by excessive grief, the signs of which are next mentioned; cf. Ov. *Trist.* 3. 3. 51 'parce tamen lacerare genas nec scinde capillos.'

69. *iungamus amores*; lit. 'unite affections,' i.e. unite in loving. Cf. Cat. 64. 372 'quare agite optatos animi coniungite amores'; so 'iungere foedus.'

70. 'Death cowered in dark,' one of the finer images of Tibullus. *caput*, N.L.P. 307 (2). Introd. p. xxx.

71. *subrepet* 'creep up,' of the stealthy approach of Old Age. So Juvenal says 'obrepet non intellecta senectus,' 'Age creeps upon us unperceived.' *iners* means properly 'without employment' or 'profession' (*ars*); here of the do-nothing time of life. Cf. 6. 40 infr. 'pigra senecta.' *amare* 'play the lover'; as in Plaut. *Merc.* quoted below.

72. *cano capite* 'when the hair is white' and we are past the age for love; cf. Plaut. *Merc.* 305 'tun' capite cano amas, senex nequissime?'

73. *leuis* 'sportive' 'gay'; cf. 5. 44. *frangere postes*, of the lover breaking through closed and barred doors, cf. Ovid *A.A.* 3. 569 'nec franget postes nec saevis ignibus

uret.' [uenus 'love,' the passion, not the goddess; cf. Cr. App.]

74. *inseruisse*, if correct (see Crit. App.), must mean to 'introduce brawls,' i.e. to engage in them without necessity. This would show the riotous spirits of youth. The nearest parallel is Livy 35. 17. 2 'admissi plures, dum suas quisque nunc querellas, nunc postulationes *inserunt* et aequa iniquis miscent, e disceptatione altercationem fecerunt.'

75 *hic* 'on this field I am a brave captain and soldier,' cf. Prop. 2. 22. 34 '*hic* ego *Pelides*, *hic* ferus *Hector* ego.' Note the very different way in which the two poets express the same idea.

76 *cupidis* 'covetous.'

77. *aceruus*, which is probably derived from *acus*, *aceris* 'chaff' and means properly a heap of grain, is used here and elsewhere as an expression for one's store of savings (compare the Americanism 'to make one's pile'); cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2. 2. 190 'utar et ex modico | quantum res poscit, *aceruo* | tollam, nec metuam.' *composito* 'gathered' 'collected'; cf. 'componere opes' Virg. *Aen.* 8. 317.

## 2 [I. III.]

THE subject of this poem is an illness of the poet which occurred when he was journeying to the East with Messalla and his suite (Introd. xix.). Messalla was probably then proceeding upon the mission to which allusion is made in 5.

### ARGUMENT.

I am grievously sick and no friends are near, neither mother nor sister to pay the last offices if I die. Even Delia is far away (1—10). What a sad and ominous parting it was when I left her weeping in Rome and provoked the Love-god to anger! (11—22). Now, may Isis, thy oft-worshipped goddess, Delia, help me in my peril and bring me home safe, that both of us may render the honour which will be heaven's due (23—34). How much better than ours was that Golden Age when there was no war or sea-faring (35—50). Spare me, Jupiter. I have done nothing to deserve untimely death. But if my hour is come, let my tombstone record that I died while following Messalla to the ends of



the earth (51—56), and Love's Goddess lead me to the Abodes of Bliss, where sport the shades of hapless lovers (57—66). But let the Wicked Place with all its torments (67—80) be reserved for those who have wronged me in my love (81 *sq.*) Do thou, my Delia, resist all lovers' blandishments while I am away, and live thy modest quiet life at home, and whenever I return, run to meet thy lover as if he had come to thee from the skies (83—92). May fate have this happy day in store for me ! (91—end).

1. **Ibitis** plural, a not uncommon idiom, because Messalla's suite (cohors v. 2) is included in the address: Virg. *Aen.* 9. 525 'uos, o Calliope, precor adspirare canenti' 'you and your sisters, O Calliope.'

2. **utinam**, without a verb; cf. Cic. *Ep. ad Fam.* 12. 25. 5 'una naus est iam bonorum omnium quam quidem nos damus operam ut rectam teneamus. utinam prospero cursu': and elsewhere. Similarly Livy. 6. 26. 6 'haec mens nostra est, *di immortales faciant*, tam felix quam pia,' and Virg. *Aen.* 3. 497 'melioribus *opto* | auspiciis.'

3. **ignotis terris** 'on a stranger shore,' indefinite plural. **Phaeacia**, *i.e.* Corcyra (Corfu) with which the Greeks identified the Homeric island of Phaeacia.

4. **abstineas**, the opposite of *inicias*. Death lays hands on all; cf. 26. 20.

5. For Tibullus' mother and sister see Intr. p. xix. For a description of the ceremonies of burial see Lygdamus' poem 14. 9 *sqq.*

7. **Assyrios** used for Syrios, as often in the Roman poets *e.g.* Catull. 68. 144 'fragrantem *Assyrio* uenit odore domum.' Frankincense, spikenard, etc. were shipped for Rome at Antioch. **dedat** rather strangely used. It seems to mean 'devote' to the devouring embers.

8. **ante sepulcra** = *ante rogam* in 14. 12. **sepulcrum** has this sense elsewhere, *e.g.* Ter. *Andr.* 100 'ad *sepulcrum* uenimus: | *in ignem* imposita est: *fletur*.'

9. **mitteret** (= *dimitteret*) 'bade farewell to'; cf. Catull. 66. 29 'maesta uirum mittens.'

10. **dicitur** does not throw any doubt on the fact; cf. 3. 10. In Gk. κλήζομαι, κλύω often differ little from εἶμι. **ante** adv. 'first,' 'before she would let me go'; but cf. Crit. App.



11. *sortes* refers to a kind of divination, slips of wood or some other material on which were inscribed short sentences of ambiguous meaning (hence called ‘*dubias-sortes*’ Prop. 2. 32. 3). These were thrown into an urn and shuffled and then one was drawn out at a time and its meaning interpreted by the fortune-teller. At Praeneste, where were the most famous *sortes*, a boy was employed to shuffle and draw them, Cic. *de Div.* 2. 86 ‘quid igitur in his potest esse certi quae Fortunae monitu pueri manu miscentur atque ducuntur?’ Here Delia draws herself and the *puer* interprets. *sustulit* apparently the technical term; cf. Cic. *l.c.* ‘*sortes quae hodie Fortunae monitu tolluntur.*’

12. *trinis*, *i.e.* from all three *sortes*, Three is of course the sacred number; see Crit. App. *certa*. In the present instance all the answers were free from doubt.

13. *dabant*, *i.e.* promised. *reditus* ‘a return’; the plural is used also in Hor. *Epod.* 16. 35 ‘*reditus* abscindere dulcis,’ Carm. 3. 5. 52 ‘et populum *reditus* morantem,’ ‘exitus difficiles,’ Cic. *Deiotar.* § 24. *deterrita* ‘dissuaded,’ ‘prevented.’ There is no idea of ‘frightening off’ here. *numquam*, *i.e.* ‘by no means’; cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 3. 49 ‘*numquam* hodie effugies’ (so Eng. ‘never’).

14. *quin*. Translate ‘Nothing prevented her from looking with alarm and tears upon my journey.’ *respiceret*, of the thoughts turning to some subject of alarm; hence coupled with *timere* Caesar *Bell. Gall.* 8. 27. 2 ‘*respicere ac timere oppidanos*,’ *Bell. Ciu.* 1. 5. 2 ‘de sua salute septimo die cogitare coguntur quod illi turbulentissimi superioribus temporibus tribuni plebis post octo denique menses uariarum actionum *respicere ac timere* consuerant.’ The sense of *timere* is here expressed by *fletet*, weeping being a sign of fear; see Prop. 2. 27. 7 ‘rursus et obiectum *fles* tu caput esse tumultu.’ The order of the words is inverted, as often in verse. See also Crit. App.

15. *ipse ego solator* ‘even I who cheered her.’ In Greek the expression would have been clearer, as *solator* would have had the article; cf. 11. 103 n. *mandata* ‘my last charges.’ Cf. Ov. *Her.* 15. 105, *Trist.* 3. 3. 43.

16. *quaerebam*, *i.e.* sought pretexts for lingering longer. Similarly in Ov. *Met.* 11. 461 ‘*quaerente moras Ceyce.*’

17. *causatus* ‘pleaded’; cf. Prop. 4. 4. 23 ‘saepe illa immeritae *causata* est omina lunae.’ In the next verse the

construction changes to the infinitive which is also found elsewhere. **omina**, special 'portents' or 'signs' forbidding a journey, as distinguished from the voice of the birds which were always consulted before setting out, Hor. *Carm.* 3. 27. 1 *sqq.* **aus**, *i.e.* *diras*; see 1. 32 n.

18. **Saturni...diem.** Saturday, *i.e.* the Jewish Sabbath on which no work was to be undertaken. Cf. Ov. *A.A.* 1. 415 *sq.* 'quaque die redeunt rebus minus apta gerendis | culta Palaestino septima sacra Syro,' Juv. 14. 105 *sq.* 'sed pater in causa cui septima quaeque fuit lux | ignava et partem uitae non attigit ullam' and Tac. *Hist.* 5. 4 in his account of the Jews. **me** is governed by **tenuisse**.

19 *sq.* To strike the foot against anything (*pedis offensio* Cic. *de Div.* 2 § 84) when beginning a journey was a very bad omen. Ov. *Met.* 10. 452 'ter *pedis offensi* signo est reuocata.'

22. **sciet** 'know' by bitter experience. See Crit. App. deo emphatic.

23. **Isis.** The worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis was, like other Oriental superstitions, making great way at Rome. It was introduced into the city by Sulla, and was prohibited in 58 B.C. but to little use. The Romans identified Isis with the Greek Io whom Juno turned into a heifer (*iuvencia*, see the passages quoted below).

24. **aera**, as we see from the reference to this passage in Ovid's elegy on Tibullus, 25. 34), means the *sistrum* (σειστρον) a sort of brass rattle in shape like a racket. The noise was produced by swinging it backwards and forwards, which made the metal rods move in their sockets. **repulsa** 'shaken to and fro.' This is the force of the prep. For *pello* see 1. 4 n. In I. viii. 22 'et faceret si non aera repulsa sonent', however, the phrase is used of the beating of cymbals (or brass vessels) during an eclipse of the moon. The *sistrum* was the characteristic emblem of Isis, Juv. 13. 93 'Isis et irato feriat mea lumina sistro.'

25, 26. 'Or what avails it that in thy dutiful observance of her rites, as I remember well, thou didst bathe in clean water and sleep apart in a clean bed,' thus religiously carrying out the instructions of the priests of Isis. **purus** means 'ceremonially clean' or 'pure.' With the exception of a single and probably corrupt passage (I. ix. 36) it has no other sense in Tibullus. **lauari, secubuisse.** For the

change of tense see 1. 14 n.; but the present of an absolute past is strange. Cf. Cr. App.

27. *posse*; supply *te*. The accus. with an infin. is often left out in poetry where it is easily understood; cf. 26. 46.

28. *picta tabella*. These were *notinae tabellae*, pictures of the invalid or the diseased part, placed in the temple after the cure as thank-offerings to the goddess. So Juvenal, in allusion to their great number, says 12. 28 ‘*pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?*’ Similar offerings may be observed in Roman Catholic churches on the continent at the present day.

29. *notuias noctes* ‘the vigils of your vow.’ Delia is to pass a number of nights (probably ten) in the temple of Isis as a thanksgiving. So Prop. says to Cynthia that she is to pay a similar vow to Isis after her recovery 2. 28. 61 sq. ‘*redde etiam excubias diuae nunc ante iuuencae | uotuias; noctes et mihi solue decem.*’ [See also Cr. App.]

30. *lino tecta*. In accordance with Eastern custom linen was worn in the worship of Isis. Hence Ov. *Am.* 2. 13. 17 ‘*neu fuge linigeræ Memphisitica templa iuuencae.*’ Cf. Lucan 9. 158 sq. ‘*euoluam busto iam numen gentibus Isin | et tectum lino spargam per uulgu Osirim.*’ *sedeat*. This is the position always mentioned in such cases; Prop. 2. 28. 45, Ov. *Am.* 2. 13. 17, *A. A.* 3. 635, *Ep. ex Pont.* 1. 1. 51, Martial 2. 14. 8.

31. *bis*, in the morning and in the evening. *comas*, acc. as in 1. 70.

32. *insignis*, for her beauty, compare ‘*conspicienda*’ 21. 4. So Hor. *Carm.* 3. 20. 5 ‘*insignem repetens Nearchum.*’ *debeat* ‘be bound,’ that is by her vow. The centre of the sentence is in the infinitive. *turba Pharia*, the crowd of priests and Isis-worshippers.

33. *celebrare*, cf. 5. 63, 17. 29.

34. *antiquo*, ‘ancestral.’ *menstrua tura*. Frankincense and other things were offered to the Lares on the first of the month; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 23. 2 ‘*nascente Luna, rustica Phidyle, | si ture placaris et horna | fruge Lares auidaque porca*’; cf. Prop. 4. 3. 53 sq. ‘*rarisque adsueta Kalendis | uix aperit clausos una puella Lares.*’

35. *uiuebant* ‘people lived’; 6. 19 n. *Saturno rege*, opposed to *Ioue sub domino* 49.

36. Literally 'was opened out into distant routes'; cf. *Ov. Am.* 2. 16. 15 *sq.* 'solliciti iaceant terraque premantur iniqua, | *in longas orbem qui secuere uias.*'

37. **contempserat**, *i.e.* 'had ceased to fear'; *Cic. Phil.* 2. 118 '*contempsit* Catilinae gladios; non pertimescam tuos.'

38. **effusum**, *i.e.* full-spread. For the displacement of *que* see *Introd.* p. xxix.

39. **uagus** 'passing from land to land'; cf. 11. 29 'uagi pastoris.' **compendia**. This word goes back to the time when payment in money was made by weighing (*pondere*), not counting. *com-pendia* means what are weighed together and so 'incomings' 'gains,' while *dis-pendia* are what are weighed out separately, and so 'disbursements.'

40. **presserat** 'had laden'; cf. *Virg. Georg.* 1. 303 'ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae.' **externa**, the produce of the *ignotae terrae*.

43. **fixus** 1. 24 n.

44. **regeret** 'regulate' 'delimitate'; *regere fines* to 'fix the boundaries' is a technical term; cf. *Cic. Murena* § 22 'ille (the general) exercitatus est in propagandis, tu (the juriconsult) in regendis finibus.'

45. 'Honey dropped spontaneously from the oaks in the Golden Age.' *Ov. Met.* 1. 112 'flauaque de uiridi stillabant ilice mella.' **ultro**. So, says Virgil, when the Golden Age comes again, 'ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae | ubera,' *Ecl.* 4. 21.

46. **ubera lactis** udders full of milk. So *Lucr.* 1. 887, 2. 370. **securis**, a favourite word of Tib.

47. **acies** (see *Crit. App.*) 'embattled hosts.' **ira** 'passion for the fray.' **bella** 'fighting.'

48. **duxerat** 'had wrought.' *ducere*, which is properly used of soft materials such as clay or wax, was transferred to working in metal when that art was discovered.

50. **repente** (if right, see *Cr. App.*) can only be explained as an adverb used for an adj. and must be taken closely with the verbal subst. **uia** 'sudden approaches'; cf. 11. 53.

51. **pater**, *i.e.* Jupiter. **timidum**. The sense is 'I am in terror, but not from a sense of guilt'; cf. *Crit. App.*

52. **impia uerba**, cf. 17. 14.



53. *fatales* 'my allotted years'; cf. *Ov. Trist.* 3. 3. 29 'si tamen implevit mea sors, quos debuit, annos.'

54. *fac...stet*. In this and similar phrases the two verbs belonged originally to different sentences; 'do (this); let it stand.' So in Eng. '(I) pray (you), come'; 'mind, you go.' It is not correct to say *ut* is omitted. *fac* 'grant' apparently a prayer to Jupiter; cf. *Prop.* 3. 16. 25 'di faciant, mea ne terra locet ossa frequenti.' It is possible, however, that he apostrophises Messalla who would be expected in any case to erect a monument to his friend. [See also *Cr. App.*]

57. *me* opposed to *ossa* (54). Contrast *Hom. Il.* 1. 4. *facilis* 'pliant,' 'susceptible to soft love'; cf. 1. 40 n.

58. *ipsa Venus*, not Mercury, but Venus; a special mark of favour accorded by the goddess to her faithful slave.

59. *uigent* 'never flag.' *chorēae*, also *chorēae* with the Greek scansion.

60. *tenui* 'slender,' 'small'; cf. *Ov. Am.* 1. 13. 8 'et liquidum tenui gutture cantat ausis.' Somewhat similarly *Hor. Carm.* 1. 33. 5 'tenui fronte Lycorida.'

61. *casiam*, the cassia of Arabia; a favourite spice of the ancients. *seges* 'the field'; properly the field after it is sown; *Hor. Ep.* 2. 2. 161 'cum segetes occat tibi mox frumenta daturas.' *Varro R.R.* 1. 29. 2. 'seges dicitur quod aratum satum est, aruum quod aratum necdum satum est.'

62. Cf. *Prop.* 4. 7. 60 'mulcet ubi Elysias aura beata rosas.' The difference of expression in the two poets is characteristic. Compare 1. 75 n.

61. *at* contrasts the place and the people.

63 *sqq.* *series* 'a line.' The battles of Love are a constant metaphor. Ovid has a whole poem on the text 'militat omnis amans.' *Am.* 1. 9. 1

65. *amanti* appears to be the participle; they had died of love; cf. *Virg. Aen.* 6. 442 *sq.* 'hic, quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit, | secreti celant calles et myrtea circum | silva tegit.' Its position gives it emphasis, cf. 11. 120.

66. *insigni*. The wearing of myrtle marked them as the special favourites of Venus.

67. *sedes scelerata* 'the wicked place'; so in *Ov. Met.* 4. 456 'sedes scelerata uocatur.'



68. **sonant.** As Jacoby points out, there appears to be a studied contrast between the sights and sounds (v. 60) of the realms of the Blessed and the Wicked.

69. **impeza** 'with her tresses of wild snakes uncombed,' i.e. 'with disordered snaky hair.' Lucan 9. 635, followed by his constant imitator Claudian (in Eutrop. 2. 111), tastelessly pictures the Furies as combing the snakes on their heads. See also Crit. App. **feros pro crinibus angues**, forms one notion, 'her-wild-snakes-for-hair'; cf. 11. 103 n. For the acc. of 'part concerned' cf. 14. 11.

71. **serpentum...ore.** The watchdog of the infernal regions is represented with a collar of snakes round his neck. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 11. 17 sq. 'Cerberus quamuis furiale centum | muniant angues caput'; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 419 'cui uates, horrere uidens iam colla colubris.' The combination of singular and plural is rather strange, but see 1. 10 n. and Virg. *Aen.* 10. 334 'in corpore Graium.'

72. **stridet** 'hisses.' So Silius Italicus speaks of the *stridor Cerbereus*, 6. 177. **fores** of the two halves of the gate (porta); cf. Livy 26. 39. 22 'semiapertis portarum foribus,' gates 'ajar.'

73. **temptare** 'assault'; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 4. 70 sq. 'integrae | temptator Orion Dianae.' **Ixionis**, a mythical king of the Lapithae, who, having been purified by Jupiter from the guilt of a treacherous murder, repaid his benefactor by assaulting his wife.

75. **Tityos**, the giant who insulted Latona; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 4. 77 'incontinentis nec Tityi iecur | reliquit ales.'

76. **uiscere**, part for whole or general term for special. **ales**, two vultures according to Homer. Others, e.g. Hor. (*l.c.*), say one.

77. **Tantalus**, king of Lydia, was punished for his crimes by being tormented with hunger and thirst in the midst of plenty. Hence the Eng. 'tantalize.' **circum** adv.

78. Cf. Prop. 2. 17. 5. sq. 'uel tu Tantalea moueare ad flumina sorte | ut liquor arenti fallat ab ore sitim.' **poturi.** *potus* and *potum* are not the participle and supine from *potare* as the lexicons say; but they, as well as *potare*, which is properly a frequentative, 'to be drinking,' are formed from a root *po* found in *po-culum*, Gk. *πῶμα*, *πέ-πω-κα*. They serve as the part. and supine of *bibo*; for *bibitum* is a late and false form.

79. **Danai proles**, the daughters of Danaus. **laesit**, by murdering their husbands, the sons of Aegyptus, at the bidding of their father.

80. **caua** 'with holes in them' and so 'leaky'; cf. Ov. *A.A.* 1. 432 'elapsusque *caua* fingitur aure lapis', '*caua* tibia' the perforated flute *Fast.* 6. 667; *Met.* 12. 130 'par-mam gladio galeamque cauari | cernit' 'pierced through.' **Lethaeas**, properly 'of Lethe,' the river in the underworld whose waters produced forgetfulness, but here used in the general sense of *infernus*; cf. 15.10 n.

81. **uiolauit** 'profaned' by endeavouring to steal away Delia's affections.

82. **lentas...militias** 'a slow campaign' and so a long absence from Delia. *optare* with the dative is commonly used (as here) of wishing somebody a misfortune.

83. **at tu** addressing Delia. For the description which follows we may compare Ter. *Heaut.* 275 sq., or that of Lucretia spinning among her maid-servants in Livy 1. 57, and Ovid, *Fasti*, 2. 741 sqq.

84. **anus** 'aged dame,' Delia's mother apparently. There is nothing disrespectful in the word. **sedula** with **custos** which governs *sancti pudoris*.

85. **fabellae** 'stories'; cf. the description of the nymphs spinning and Clymene telling them tales in Virg. *Georg.* 4. 334 sqq. **posita lucerna** 'set down' 'in its place' (not quite the same as '*adposita*—*lucerna*' Prop. 2. 15. 3); cf. [Ov.] *Her.* 19. 151 'sternuit et lumen: *posito* nam scribimus illo.' We should say 'on the table.' But the Romans appear to have generally used a stand (*candelabrum*).

86. **deducat** expresses the act of bringing the fibres of wool from the distaff in order to twist them into yarn (stamina) by the rotation of the spindle (*fusus*).

87. **grauibus pensis**; Ov. *Her.* 10. 90 'grandia pensa.' **puella**, a collective sing. for plural, as **circa** (adv.) shows; cf. Tib. I. ii. 95 'hunc *puer*, hunc *iuuenis* turba circum terit arta.' The 'maids' are of course the female slaves. **adfixa** 'fixed to', i.e. 'absorbed in.' For the met. cf. Ov. *Met.* 4. 32 sq. 'solae Minyeides intus, | intempestiua turbantes festa Minerua | aut ducunt lanas aut stamina pollice uersant | aut haerent telae'; cf. 4. 61.

90. *caelo missus*, of a sudden providential appearance; cf. Livy 8. 9. 10.

92. *nudato*, *i.e.* without your sandals, a sign of haste or excitement.

93. *hunc* 'like this' (pred.) *illum* 'the day I yearn for.' For the combination of the pronouns cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 255 '*hunc illum fatis externa ab sede profectum | portendi generum*' 'this is the long-predicted son-in-law.'

94. *Luciferum* 'day' 'morn', lit. morning-star; cf. Prop. 2. 19. 28 '*uenturum paucis me tibi Luciferis.*' For the wish cf. Ov. *ex Pont.* 1. 4. 57 '*Memnonis hanc utinam lenito principe mater | quamprimum roseo prouocet ore diem.*'

### 3 [I. v. 1-36]

Tibullus laments his separation from Delia.

#### ARGUMENT.

I was proud and mocked at the thought of losing thee. Alas, that was an idle boast, and I deserve this punishment for my pride (1—6). But show me mercy, Delia, remembering how I prayed to heaven for thee when thou wast ill. Ah, that has all gone for nothing now, and to a rival has fallen the fruit of my prayers (7—18). I dreamed of living a happy country life with Delia to share it and help me to welcome my dearest friend (19—34). But these fond dreams are scattered to the winds (35, 36).

1. *ferre* 'that I could bear.' The pres. inf. in Latin is occasionally used of future actions, where no stress is laid on their futurity. So even in prose Caesar *B.G.* 2. 32. 2 '*re nuntiata ad suos quae imperarentur facere dixerunt*' 'they agreed to do' 'said they were ready to do' For the sense cf. Ov. *Met.* 14. 78 sq. '*excipit Aenean illic animoque domoque | non bene discidium Phrygii latura mariti.*'

2. *gloria fortis* 'my boast of fortitude'; cf. 11. 119.

3. 'Passion drives me as whipping drives a top': cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 377 sq. '*furit lymphata per urbem | ceu quondam torto uolitans sub uerbere turbo | quam pueri*' etc. *sola*. Poets use the plur. for the sing. and vice versa, for the convenience of their metre or often merely to distinguish

their language from prose. We have already had *musta* (1. 18) *uina* (*ib.* 32) *somnos* (*ib.* 48) *sepulcra* (2. 8) *reditus* (*ib.* 13) *iuga* (*ib.* 41) *mella* (*ib.* 45) *militias* (*ib.* 82). **uerbere** depends on 'agitur' to be supplied.

4. **adsueta... ab arte** 'with the skill of practice.' For the preposition *ab* ('from' *i.e.* 'by means of') compare 'in-experta... ab arte' 7. 56 n. and I. ix. 66 'non solita corpus ab arte mouet.' The phrase is also frequent in Ovid.

5. **ure ferum**. Burning and tortures were used to bring refractory slaves to their senses; compare 10. 5.

6. **horrida** 'rough words' such as the angry (*asperi* v. 1) use.

7. **per te... foedera** for *te per foedera* 'by the ties of our secret love I implore you.' *Per* is often so placed in adjurations, both in verse and prose. Compare 13. 15.

8. **uenerem** 'our love.' **compositum** 'laid by mine.'

9. **ille ego**, emphatic pred., 'I am he that'; he appeals to Delia's gratitude. **defessa**, cf. 20. 10.

10. **dicor**, 2. 10.

11. **ipsēque**, cf. 4. 48 **circum** adverb 'on all sides'; 2. 77. **puro**, cf. Theocr. 24. 96 καθαρῶ δὲ πυρώσατε δῶμα θεείῳ | πᾶτον.

12. **præcinuisset** 'had chanted a spell.' These women were called *præcantrices*. The incantation comes first in the proceedings.

13. **procurai** 'averted' 'propitiated,' the regular word for nullifying the evil effects of a prodigy. **sæua somnia** acc. after *procurai*; cf. Phædr. 3. 3. 16 'si prōcurare uis ostentum, rustice.'

14. **deueneranda**, if right (see Crit. App.), must explain *sæua* dreams which must be propitiated.

15. **filo**, a woollen head-band; worn in solemn ceremonies, as by the Fetials in demanding redress Livy 1. 32. 6 'legatus, ubi ad fines eorum uenit unde res repetuntur, capite uelato filo (lanæ uelamen est)' etc. **solutis**. *i.e.* 'ungirded'; so Medea sacrificing to the same goddess, Hecate, Ov. *Met.* 7. 182 'egreditur tectis uestes induta recinctas.'

16. **nouem**, on so many separate nights. **Triuiaie**, Hecate, or Proserpine, as the goddess of the world below.



**uota...dedi**, here for *uota feci*. *dare* is thus used in many phrases; e.g. *dicta dare*, *preces dare*, *finem dare*. Terence *Heaut.* 5. 1. 43 (916) has 'quot res dedere' = 'fecere.'

17. **amore**, Delia's.

18. **utitur**, i.e. reaps the fruit of my prayers. For the general sense cf. *Ov. Her.* 6. 73 *sqq.* 'adde preces castas immixtaque uota timori, | nunc quoque te saluo persoluenda mihi. | uota ego persoluam? uotis Medea fruetur?'

19. **fuisses**, N.L.P. †217 (B).

20. **renuente deo**; cf. *Ov. Met.* 8. 324 *sq.* 'hanc, pariter uidit, pariter Calydonius heros | optauit *renuente deo*.' The expression is general; 'some god forbade.'

22. **area** 'the threshing-floor': in the open fields, cf. *Virg. Georg.* 1. 298 'et medio tostas aestu terit area fruges.'

23. **seruabit** 'will watch.' **lintribus** 'troughs' in which the grapes were placed after being gathered.

24. **candida**. So we see Tibullus' estate produced white wine.

26. **numerare**, to see that none were lost. This counting was always done by the owner or some responsible person. **consuescet**. It would seem more natural to us to say 'consuescet (Delia) uernam tenere'; just as in *Prop.* 3. 4. 6 'adsuescent Latio Partha tropaea Ioui' we should expect 'Iuppiter adsuescet tropaeis.'

26. **garrulus** 'prattling.' **uerna** 'slave-child.' Young slaves born on their master's estate were allowed by the Romans a good deal of indulgence.

27. **deo...agricolae**, 7. 36. It is a general term, which need not refer to the same divinity here as there. It is generally supposed to be Siluanus, called 'siluestri deo' 11. 30). **uuam** 'a bunch of grapes.' A single grape is *acinus* or (sometimes) *racemus*.

28. **dapem** 'offering,' the proper word, as we learn from the grammarian Festus, for the sacrifices at the winter or the spring sowings (*res diuina quae fiebat aut hiberna sementi aut uerna*). Cato in his treatise on Agriculture, 131, tells us it should be made 'when the pear tree flowers' (*piro florente dapem pro bubus facito*). It consisted of an offering of a goblet of wine to Iuppiter *dapalis ib.* 132.



30. *nihil* 'a cypher.' This self-effacing spirit of Tibullus seems to have struck Martial as characteristic. His epigram on Tibullus (14. 192) is 'Vssit amatorem Nemesis lasciuia Tibullum, | in tota inuit quem nihil esse domo.'

32. *selectis*; cf. 9. 6. *detrahat*, subjunctive of 'desire,' 1. 4 n.

33. *hunc* means Messalla. But the line contains a grave metrical fault and seems unworthy of Tibullus. See Crit. App.

34. *epulas* goes with *paret* as well as with *gerat*, which last word, 'carry,' draws attention to the humble character of the duty that Delia takes upon herself, to do more honour to the guest; 'bring' would be *ferat*.

35. 'Such were the fond prayers I framed which now are tost from East wind to South through the fragrant Armenian land.' The people, *Armenios*, are put for their land, a common use in Greek and Latin. Armenia is selected as the type of a far off country; cf. Mart. 5. 58. 4 (of the never-present to-morrow) 'numquid apud Parthos Armeniosque latet?' It produced the aromatic shrub called *amomum*. The expression is a variant on the common idea that unheard prayers were scattered by the wind. The definite and circumstantial form of the description is noticeable. There was no more reason in the nature of things for supposing these lost wishes to be in Armenia, than the broken vows of the lover to be floating over the 'surface' of the sea in the similar passage I. iv. 28 'ueneris periuria uenti | inrita per terras et freta summa (al. longa) ferunt.'

#### 4 [I. VI. 43-86.]

##### ARGUMENT.

You have been warned to be faithful to me, Delia, by the mouth of great Bellona's priestess when in her terrible ecstasy she uttered a curse on those that would lead you astray (43-52). There was to be a punishment for you too, Delia: if you incur it, may it be light. It is for your gentle mother's sake I pray for this. I love her and shall never forget that you are her daughter (52-66). Let her teach you to be chaste though your station is but a humble one (67, 68). Let there be a law as strict for me, and may I have

no mercy if what I do is not always above suspicion (69—72). May I never be so mad as to lift a finger against you! I would have you true from love and not from fear (73—76). [Happy is her life who is true to her lover.] But for the faithless there is in store an old age of toil and penury. Old and young and the goddess she has slighted all rejoice to see her suffer (77—84). Let this be the fate of others, Delia: but let us be pattern lovers to the last (85—end).

43. **sic fieri** 'that it should be thus,' that is, that Delia should not be tempted to forsake Tibullus. **deus** 'the god himself' whoever he may be. We should say 'Heaven thus ordains.'

45. **Bellonae**. The Romans identified their own goddess of war Bellona with the Cappadocian goddess Mā whose worship was introduced into Rome about the time of the first Mithridatic war. It was, like other Eastern religions, of a very violent and ecstatic character, the priests and votaries cutting themselves with knives in their frenzy. **motu**, *i.e.* as B. moves her, under the impulse of B.; cf. *Ov. Met.* 6. 158 (of the prophetess Manto) '*diuino concita motu.*'

46. **non** takes the place of *nec* in 45—a rare use, and possibly a Graecism, cf. Herod. 8. 98 τοὺς οὐτε νιφετὸς οὐκ ὄμβρος, ἐν καῦμα, οὐ | νύξ ἔργει. Eur. *Herc. F.* 642 sqq. μή μοι μήτ' Ἀσιάτιδος τυραννίδος ὄλβος, μή χρυσοῦ δώματα πλήρη. Prop. 3. 2. 9—12 has the same use in the case of sentences. **amens**, 'in her frenzy.' **torta**, the twisted and knotted scourge.

47. **bipenne**, a two-headed axe.

48. **inulta**. The goddess does not resent it. **deam**, 11. 22.

49. **latus praefixa**, with a lance pressed down her side. The lance is 'in front' of her side because it passes between the skin and the flesh. For the acc. of part concerned cf. 2. 69 n. **ueru**, more properly called *uerutum*, a lance with a head like a spit (*ueru*), which was used by the Roman light infantry. It was probably a Samnite weapon.

50. **quos...monet** 'as the great goddess inspires her'; acc. either (1) after *canere* to be understood or (2) (perhaps better) after *monet* 'suggests' to her mind. This constr. is found in prose, provided the acc. is a neut. pron. or adj.

52. **didicisse** absolute 'to have learnt your lesson.' The Greek proverb tells us that παθήματα are μαθήματα. **malo** 'punishment' as often.

53. **attigeris**, sc. *eam*. The number is changed to the singular as the individual is now supposed to be addressed. There is a similar but harsher change of number in Grattius *Cyneg.* 55 sq. 'illa uel ad flatus Helices oppande serenae | uel caligineo laxanda reponite fumo.' **sanguis**, sc. *labitur*.

54. **que** should follow **ut**. **cinis**. As the priestess says this, she scatters ashes from off the altar.

56. **tamen**, 'after all'; cf. 66. **admittas** 'do wrong,' 'commit a fault.' **illa** may mean either the goddess herself (v. 50) or the *magna sacerdos* who represents the goddess and executes her will. **leuis** 'mild,' 'gentle'; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 18. 9 'Sithoniis non *leuis* Euhius.'

58. **aurea**, of anything very precious; so we say 'as good as gold'. Cf. Shakespeare *Cymbeline* 'Golden lads and girls all must, | As chimney-sweepers, come to dust.'

61. **adfixa foribus**, rooted to the threshold, we should say; cf. 2. 87.

63. **mihi**, ethic dat. N. L. P. 133. **tecum**. He might have used *tibi*; cf. Seneca *de breuitate uitae* 15. 1 'horum nemo annos tuos conterit; suos *tibi* contribuit': but *tecum* expresses the bringing into a common stock in which Tibullus and the *anus* shared and shared alike; cf. 15. 7.

64. **sit modo fas**. This apologetic expression shows the god-fearing disposition that was characteristic of the ancient Roman. So Cat. 51. 2 'ille mi par esse deo uidetur, | ille, si fas est, superare diuos' where there is nothing corresponding to 'si fas est' in the ode of Sappho which Catullus is translating.

66. **sanguis** the original quantity; from \*sanguin-s (with the s of the nominative). The short *i* may be due to the influence of the neuter form *sanguen* or to that of *anguis*; see Crit. App. on 16. 87.

67 sq. The head-band, **uitta**, and the **stola**, a long garment which reached to the feet, could only be worn by Roman matrons.

70. **quin**, 'without her flying at my eyes.' For the construction of *quin* cf. N. L. P. 412.

71. **putet**, emphatic ; cf. Crit. App. Tibullus must be *above suspicion* himself.

72. **immerito**, if sound (Crit. App.), must carry on the idea of *duras* and *putet*. **pronas** etc., 'pitched out headlong'; *proripere* is to hustle somebody out into the public streets; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2. 5. 161 'hominem *proripi* (iubet) atque in medio foro nudari.' The acc. is a kind of cognate one.

74. **optarim**. The perf. subj. is rarer and more emphatic than the pres. : 23. 4, Hor. *Serm.* 1. 1. 79 'semper ego optarim pauperrimus esse bonorum.'

77. **at**. We have lost the companion picture ; see Crit. App. **post**, adv.

78. **torta**. The Latin past participle like that of the Greek aorist, is sometimes 'timeless' and so the action which it expresses may be contemporary with or even subsequent to that of the main verb. Pliny *N.H.* 8. 185 will serve as an example. 'Germanici Caesaris manus auersatus est, haud multo postea *extincti*.' Apis (the sacred bull) declined the hand of Germanicus, and he (G.) died not long after. 'She draws and twists the threads.' This was done by means of the rotating spindle. **ducit**. The wool for spinning was in the distaff (*colus*).

79. **conductis**, 'hired' a mark of poverty. The epithet is 'transferred' from the worker to the loom ; cf. Juv. 8. 43 'et quae uentoso conducta sub aggere texit.' **licia** 'leashes' in weaving ; strings with loops, each fastened to a single thread of the warp and attached in alternate order to two rods, called *liciatoria*. When the rods were pulled apart they made an opening in the warp, through which the shuttle carrying the woof could pass. The process of attaching the leashes to the rods was called 'addere licia telae' Virg. *Georg.* 1. 285.

80. 'And pulls and cleans the handfuls of snowy wool.' **tracta** from *tractum* 'what is drawn out' is here practically a noun, like *textum* 'what is woven,' 'a fabric.' In cooking it means a piece of dough 'pulled out' of a larger mass to make a cake. Before being spun the wool was cleaned and softened by being worked up in the hands. *Trahere* and *ducere* are both used in this connexion, but when used quite exactly are not identical in meaning ; *trahere* expresses the pulling of a portion of the wool from the rough mass, *ducere*



the drawing of its fibres through the fingers. Varro in a fragment preserved by Nonius (p. 543. 12), of an old dame cleaning her wool and minding her pot at the same time, has 'simul manibus trahere lanam nec non simul oculis obseruare ollam pultis ne aduratur,' Ovid, *Met.* 2. 411 'lanam mollire trahendo' *ib.* 6. 19 *sqq.* 'siue rudem primos lanam glomerabat in orbes | seu digitis subigebat (worked up, the verb is also used of dough) opus, repetitaque longo | uellera molliabat nebulas aequantia tractu | siue leui teretem uersabat pollice fusum.' So 4. 34 *sq.* 'aut ducunt lanas, aut stamina pollice uersant (spin), aut haerent telae (weave).' The collocation *tracta ducta* is not however very satisfactory (cf. Cr. App.). **putat** 'cleans' the original sense of *puto*, which is derived from *pūtus* 'clean, bright,' an old part. from the root *pū* seen in *pūrus*. It lingered on in a few special uses: *putare lanam* as here in Titinius fragm. quoted by Nonius p. 369. 25 'da pensam lanam: qui non reddet temperi | putatam recte facito ut multetur malo' and Varro, 'uellus lauare et putare'; *putare arbores* 'clean' *i.e.* prune trees; *putare rationes* get one's accounts clear (much as we speak of a 'clean' balance sheet). Hence *puto* 'I think' properly means 'I calculate.'

81. **iuuenum cateruae** is the subject of *uident* as well as of *commemorant*; compare note on 1. 51.

82. **senem**, the only example of *senex* as a fem. adj. in the classical age.

85. **cadant** 'come true'; cf. 8. 17.

## 5 [I. vii.]

This is a birthday poem addressed to Messalla, subsequently to his triumph on Sept. 25, B.C. 27. That triumph was granted for his reduction of Aquitania in a war, the details of which are referred to in vv. 9 *sq.* but are otherwise unknown. After the war was over Messalla appears to have stayed some time in Gaul where he assisted Augustus in the reorganisation of the country, which had been disturbed by the outbreak. See 11 *sq.* and note and Cr. App.

At a later date Messalla was despatched by Augustus on a mission to the East, to which refer the lines 13 *sqq.* Of its character we know extremely little. It was probably chiefly pacific though some fighting may have been anticipated as



Tibullus who apparently set out with his friend (2 introd.) speaks of *militia* in connexion with it (*ib.* 82). Its sphere is also uncertain: but vv. 13-20 point to Cilicia and Syria. Every place mentioned by Tibullus is either on the coast of Asia between Tarsus and the Nile or visible from that coast.

A Roman's birthday was a great celebration. He dressed in his best clothes, cf. 21. 3 *sq.* and note, and wore special ornaments, Persius 1. 16 'et natalicia tandem cum sardonyche albus,' the birthday ring of sardonyx. He offered sacrifice to his *Genius natalis* (a lady to her *Iuno natalis* 21 *l.c.*), that is, to the god or spirit who presided over his life, of whom Hor. says, *Ep.* 2. 2. 187 'scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum, | naturae deus humanae.' Seneca *Ep.* 110. 1 'singulis enim maiores nostri et *Genium* et *Iunonem* dederunt' where he also calls the Genius a *deus paedagogus* or a 'private-tutor god.' The usual offerings were garlands of flowers, wine and ointment poured over the image of the Genius or Iuno, honey cakes and frankincense. After the sacrifice followed feasting and social entertainment; cf. v. 49.

#### ARGUMENT.

This is the birthday of which sang the sisters who spin the threads of destiny that no god can untwist—the birthday of him who should rout the Aquitanian hosts when the river of Narbo trembled before them (1-4). Their words have all come true and Rome has seen the triumph of Messalla (5-8). Aquitania, Old and New, to their utmost bounds bear witness to his exploits (9-12). Asia too and the wondrous Eastern lands from the Cydnus to the Nile (13-22). What a marvellous stream is his, this river god of Egypt whom his own folk call Osiris (23-28), Osiris the inventor of husbandry and horticulture (29-32), Osiris the discoverer of the vine and its juice that gladdens the heart of man, however weary or sad (33-42). Thou hast no part in sorrow, Osiris. Dance, song, and love are thine: thy dress and mystic emblems all speak of joy (43-48). So come and help us to-day to worship with all due rites the birth-spirit of Messalla (49-54). May Messalla have children who will add lustre to their sire (55-59). May the country folk of old Tusculum and Alba never cease to bless him for the good road that he has made for them (59-62). And may each of thy advents, birth-spirit, be happier than the last (63-end).

1. *diem*, Messalla's birthday, which is said to be going to do all that Messalla will do. This is a poetic figure found

elsewhere, *e.g.* Pindar *Pyth.* 9. 68 κείνο κείν' ἄμαρ διαίτασεν, which also illustrates the emphatic repetition of *hunc* (v. 3). **Parcae**, the Fates or weird sisters who chaunted men's destinies as they spun the thread of their lives; cf. Ov. *Trist.* 5. 3. 25 'scilicet hanc legem nentes fatalia Parcae | stamina bis genito bis cecinere tibi.' and Tib. (?) III. xi. (IV. v. 3 *sq.*) 'te nascente nouum Parcae cecinere puellis | seruitium et dederunt regna superba tibi.'

2. **dissolūenda**, *dissoluere*, the opposite of *torquere*. For the scansion of the *u* compare v. 40 (below) and I. x. 62 'sit satis ornatus dissolūisse comae.'

3. **hunc fore** after *cecineret* with a slight change of construction, 2. 17 n. See also Cr. App. **Aquitanas**. The Aquitanians meant are the tribes of the lesser Aquitania (see the map). Its boundaries are given by Caesar *B. Gall.* 1. 1 fin. 'Aquitania a Garunna flumine ad Pyrenaeos montes et eam partem Oceani quae est ad Hispaniam pertinet.'

4. **Atax**, now the river *Aude*, rising in the Pyrenees and flowing past Narbo (*Narbonne*). The river is alarmed by the Aquitanians bursting into the Roman Province.

5. **eueneret**. The subject, the events predicted, has to be supplied; cf. Ov. *Met.* 5. 524 'eueniet,' 'it will come to pass.' **pubes Romana**, cf. *pubes barbara*, 27.

6. For the constr. cf. 6. 28.

8. **nitidis**, not 'sleek,' but 'glistening', 'white'; so Ovid speaks of 'nitidum ebur' *Met.* 2. 3 and Tib. of a 'lucida ouis' (7. 62 n.); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2. 5. 18 'albo sic umero nitens | ut,' etc. The triumphal car was drawn by the whitest horses procurable. **eburnus**, adorned with ivory panels carved with figures; see the illustration in Rich's *Dict. s.v. currus*.

9. **sine marte...testis**. Compare the words of another panegyrist of Messalla 106 *sqq.*, 'at non per dubias errant mea carmina laudes, | nam bellis experta cano. *testis* mihi uictae | fortis Iapydiae miles, *testis* quoque fallax | Pannonius.' **Tarbella**, like *Aquitanas* (3), is simply a noun turned into an adj. and used instead of a derivative from the noun. **Pyrene**. The *y* is generally long, but we have *Pyrenaeus* in Lucan 4. 83. [For the text cf. Cr. App. and *Introd.* p. xix].

10. **Oceani...Santonici.** The part of the Ocean adjoining the *Santones* (who lived in what is now the province of Saintonge). Other writers have similar expressions; *Atlanticus Oceanus*, *Britannicus Oceanus*. Tibullus implies that the enemy was thoroughly beaten and driven to the mountains and the coast.

11. **Arar**, the Saône, a stream as slow as the Rhone is swift. **Garunna**, now the Garonne, the northern boundary of Aquitania. It is called *magnus* from the size of its estuary. The rivers mentioned in this couplet are the boundaries of the territory added to the old Aquitania to make the new province. (See the map.)

12. **Carnutis.** The yellow-haired Carnutes (or Carnuti) were a considerable Gallic tribe between the Sequana (*Seine*) and the Liger (*Loire*). Their principal town was Genabum (*Orleans*) and their name survives in another of their towns, *Chartres*, formerly Autricum. Ramsay well observes that the modern French names of towns are often derived from those of Gallic tribes in the vicinity instead of the old Roman name of the town; thus *Paris* from *Parisii*, not *Lutetia*, *Bruges* from *Bituriges*, not *Anaricum* etc. **caerula**, see 45 n. Here the contrast of colours has become a mere trick of language: 10. 30 is a very similar case. The waters of the Loire are not blue.

13 sq. The Cydnus, the river of Tarsus, was cold and rapid for the greater part of its course; but near its mouth it flowed into a kind of lake or shallow basin called *Rhegma*, where were the old dockyards; Strabo 14. p. 989 (672). **caeruleus.** This 'blue' of the Cydnus' stream contrasts with the colour of the shallow waters through which it flows.<sup>1</sup> Observe the redundant expression, of which Tibullus is fond, especially in expressing silence or secrecy; cf. 6. 34, ii. l. 80 'cui placidus leniter adflat Amor' and elsewhere; also 12. 11. **uada**, the *Rhegma*, cf. Ovid. *Fasti* 1. 501, 'uada... Tarenti,' is the lagoon of Tarentos, where Euander landed from the Tiber.

15 sq. **aetherio** 'sky-kissing.' **intonsos** 'long-haired,' i.e. uncivilised. **alat**; Strabo, 14 p. 854 (569), tells us that, near Selge in Pisidia, Taurus was fertile up to its

<sup>1</sup> The Cydnus is not blue, as I learn from Prof. W. M. Ramsay. Ovid *A.A.* 3. 204 calls it the *lucidus Cydnus*. There is nothing in this poem or elsewhere to show that Tibullus ever got further east than Corfu (2. 3).

summit. **quantus**, predicative. **frigidus**, epithet of Taurus. This great mountain range was visible from the coast; cf. Lucan 8. 255.

17. **crebras...per urbes** apparently means 'from town to town.' The birds were far-flyers; cf. Crit. App. **intacta** with **uolitet**. Lucian tells us in his treatise *De dea Syria* (on Astarte or the Syrian Venus) that the Syrians ate all birds except the dove, which they held sacred, cc. 31 and 54. The student should notice that *columba* has three adjectives agreeing with it, but their relations to it are all different. Cf. 15 sq., 20 and for the 'repetition' Introd. p. xxvii.

18. **Syro** is the noun; cf. Ovid *A. A.* 1. 76 'cultaque Iudaeo septima sacra Syro' and *ib.* 416 (quoted on 2. 18). Syria in the widest sense included Palestine, as here, and Phoenicia.

19. The Phoenician city of Tyre was built on an island, and the narrow area made it necessary to raise the houses, which were inhabited in flats, to a great height, in order to house its population; and this necessitated proportionately lofty fortifications. When Alexander besieged it, the city wall towards the mainland was 150 feet high according to Arrian. For a vivid description of its power see Ezekiel, chap. 27.

20. The Phoenicians were the first great sea explorers and naval power. **docta** here serves as the perf. part. of *disco*.

21. For Sirius or the Dogstar cf. 1. 9.

22. **fertilis** (like *fecundus*) is used for 'fertilizing' as well as 'fertile,' so Pliny *N.H.* 18. 43 'maiores *fertilissimum* in agro oculum domini esse dixerunt' that there was 'no fertilizer like the owner's eye.' Many other adjectives in Latin shift their meaning similarly; e.g. *surdus*, 'deaf' and 'unheard'; *caecus* 'blind, 'blinding,' 'unseen.' **aestiva**, emphatic 'in summer.' In prose we should have 'aestate' or at least 'aestivus.'

23. **pater**. So other great rivers are addressed, especially the Tiber. Hence Macaulay in the *Lays of Ancient Rome* 'O Tiber, Father Tiber, To whom the Romans pray.' **possim...dicere** means little more than 'dicam.' So in *I. x.* 64 'quater ille beatus | quo tenera irato *flere* puella *potest*' he might also have written *flet*. cf. 15. 26, 27. **causa**. Ovid *Met.* 2. 254 *sqq.* has the pleasing fiction that the



Nile was frightened when Phaethon set the world on fire 'Nilus in extremum fugit perterritus orbem | oculuitque caput quod adhuc latet.' The mystery of the sources of the Nile was only solved in the past century by British travellers.

26. **Pluuio.** So Stat. *Th.* 4. 757; cf. Virg. *G.* 1. 418 Iuppiter uuidus.' So in Gk. Ζεὺς ἰέτιος or ἰκμαῖος. In the Naples Museum is an inscription IOVI PLVVIA(LI) *C.I.L.* ix. 324. **supplicat**, a bold metaphor. Pausanias 1. 24, tells us that at Athens there was a figure of the earth praying Zeus to send her rain. Tibullus may very well have seen such a representation.

27. **suum...Osirim** 'as their Osiris,' the Nile and Osiris being identified. **miratur** 'revere'; cf. Stat. *Silu.* 5. 2. 74 sq. 'aequaeuo cedere fratri | mirarique patrem'

28. **Memphiten...bouem.** The sacred bull, called Apis, supposed to be an incarnation of Osiris, which was kept in a splendid temple and park at Memphis. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 8. 184) says, 'He is not allowed to live beyond a certain number of years. Then he is drowned in the priests' spring. Thereupon they seek another to put in his place, grieving and mourning with shaven heads till he is found. But they never have to seek for long. When found he is led by the priests to Memphis.' Juvenal refers to the shout of joy when the new 'god' was discovered; 8. 29 'populus quod clamat Osiri inuento.' **docta**; cf. 20. Here 'experienced in,' εἰδυῖα. Tibullus is translating a fragment of Callimachus on the same subject, εἰδυῖαν φάλιον ταῦρον ἠλεμίσαι. **plangere** properly 'to beat,' and then to beat the breast and other parts of the body in grief, takes here and in later poets an acc. of the person grieved for. The construction appears to be an imitation of the Gk. κόπτεσθαι, τύπτεσθαι, τίλλεσθαι, which all take an acc. of the person.

30. **teneram**, when the earth was young and soft. So Lucr. 5. 780 speaks of 'mundi nouitatem et mollia terrae | arua.' **sollicitauit** 'troubled' 'disturbed'; cf. Ovid *Fast.* 4. 396 'quos tellus nullo sollicitante dabat.'

31. **inexpertae**, passive, (cf. 'non notis' in v. 32) 'hitherto unknown.'

33. **palis** 'props,' 'poles' for supporting the vines.



34. **dura** 'pitiless.' To spare the knife is to spoil the vine.

36. **incultis** 'uncivilised'; cf. Pan. Messall. (18.) 59, where it is used of the primitive Laestrygonians.

37. **inflectere** 'modulate'; so *flectere* Lucr. 5. 1406 'ducere multimodis uoces et flectere cantus.'

38. **nescia** 'hitherto ignorant.' **mouit...membra** 'made them dance'; the phrase is frequently so used, e.g. in Hor. *Serm.* 1. 9. 24 'quis membra mouere—inollius (possit)?'

39. **bacchus**, here clearly a simple synonym for 'wine.' Herodotus 2. 42 mentions that Osiris was identified by the Egyptians with Dionysus the God of wine.

40. **laetitiae** (dat. after *dedit*) 'gaiety,' 'festivity,' cf. Virg. *A.* 1. 734 'adsit *laetitiae* Bacchus dator.' [For the MS and vulgate reading see Cr. App.]. **dissoluenda**, *dissoluere* signifies the end of the process whose beginning is expressed by *laxare* 'to loosen'—a word not uncommon in this connexion, e.g. Seneca *de tranquillitate* 1. 15 'Cato *uino laxabat* animum curis publicis *fatigatum*.' Sil. It. 11. 286 '*Bacchi munera duram | laxarunt mentem*.' **dedit**. For the constr. with the gerundive see N.L.P. 361, R. 1401.

42. The sense is 'though they are chained slaves.' **compede**. *Compedes* is a pair of shackles which fastened the feet together (see the illustration in Rich). The singular is only poetical. **pulsa** = *pulsata*.

43. **sunt**, supply *apti*. Cf. note on 1. 32.

44. **cantūs . leuis**, 1. 73 n.

45. **uarii flores**, cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 9. 41. (quoted on 17. 4). The Roman taste was specially attracted by contrasts in colour. Hence *uarius* is a favourite word with their poets; Prop. 3. 13. 32 (a bird for a present) 'aut *uariam* plumae uersicoloris auem,' Hor. *Carm.* 2. 5. 12 (of ripening grapes) 'autumnus...*purpureo uarius* colore,' cf. Prop. 4. 2. 13; of dress, Ter. *Eun.* 683 *sqq.* (fine clothes make fine birds) 'ita uisus est | dudam quia *uaria* ueste exornatus fuit | nunc tibi uidetur foedus quia *illam* non habet'; Sil. It. 7. 84 *sq.* (a jewelled circlet for Juno) 'omnis in auro | pressa tibi *uaria* fulgebit gemma corona'; in Virg. *G.* 2. 467–521 the word occurs three times in different connexions. Cf. 6. 10 note.

**corymbis**. The 'clusters of ivy-berries' forming a wreath

for the head, such as Bacchus is frequently represented with, both in literature and art; Ov. *Fast.* 1. 393 calls him 'corymbiferi...Bacchi.'

46. **palla**, the long robe worn by harpers, actors, and certain mythological persons, *e.g.* by Bacchus. **lutea** 'yellow'. This was also the colour of the *crocota*, a robe which was worn by women at the Bacchic festivals.

47. **Tyriae**, dyed with the famous purple of Tyre. This colour was also worn by Bacchus; Seneca, *Oed.* 419 sq. 'te caput *Tyria* cohibere mitra (decet).' **dulcis...cantu** 'sweet by its music,' or 'in respect of its music' as in 'grandis natu,' 'part or thing concerned,' N.L.P. 151, Roby 1210.

48. **leuis**. The *cista* was a deep basket made of wicker-work. **conscia** 'privy to' the rites (dat.), *i.e.* taking part in them; cf. Ov. *Met.* 6. 587 'nox conscia sacris.'

49. **huc ades**, a delicate compliment to Messalla. Osiris is to come from the East to take part in the birthday celebration; *ades* implies moving, hence *huc*. **ludis** of birthday games or amusements; Ovid *ex Ponto* 4. 9. 115 sq. 'Pontica me tellus, quantis hac possumus ora, | natalem ludis scit celebrare meum.' **Genium**. The *genius natalis* is often called *genius* or *natalis* simply. For the Genius see Introd. to 8. For the dances on a birthday cf. Prop. 3. 10. 23, 'tibia *continuis* succumbat rauca *choreis*' which supports *centum* (Crit. App.). The order of words is 'centum ludis choreisque Genium concelebra,' cf. 1. 51 n.

50. **concelebra**, a stronger form of 'celebra,' rarely used of the *god* who is honoured. **funde** 'drench,' 'wet'; a rare use, also in 14. 20. **mero**; see above and 8. The offerings of wine and honey-cakes were thrice repeated; cf. III. xii. (IV. vi.) 'ter tibi fit libo, ter, dea casta, mero.'

51 sq. Compare 8. 6 sqq.

53. **hodie** *ad.* for *adv.*, *hodie*, cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1. 6. 20 'naus mane forum, uespertinus pete tectum'; a not uncommon use in the poets, perhaps in part an imitation from the Greek. It is one especially common with words expressing time. Compare n. on 62 below. The *adj.* is attracted into the case of *Geni*. Compare Crit. App.

54. **Mopsopio**, *i.e.* *Attico*, a learned epithet; Mopsopus is said to have been an old king of Athens. It is used more than once in Ovid. **liba**, cf. 8. 8.

55. **at tibi**, turning to address Messalla as in *at tu* (2. 83) he turns to address Delia. **succrescat proles** 'grow up' to take your place; cf. Cic. *de Orat.* 230 'non enim ille mediocris orator uestrae quasi succrescit aetati.'

56. **augeat** 'enhance,' the greatness of the sons' achievements redounds upon the fathers; so Messalla himself is said to be 'magna intonsis gloria uictor auis.' Compare also Sil. It. 3. 708 'Sidonios augebis auos.' **circa stet.** The sons stand round the old man's deathbed. Pind. *Ol.* v. 21 *sqq.* σέ τ', Ὀλυμπιόνικε. Ποσειδανίαισιν ἵπποις ἐπιτερπόμενον φέρειν γῆρας εὐθυμον ἐς τελευτάν, νιῶν, Ψαῦμι, παρισταμένων. **ueneranda** 'honoured,' 'worthy of honour' (cf. 3. 33) is intentionally added, the sense being 'may you live to see your sons illustrious,' and worthy of the homage which is paid to you. Cf. Stat. *Th.* 12. 73 '*mecum uenerande—puer.*'

57. **taceat.** A nom. is to be supplied; *is quem detinet* etc. **monumenta** 'memorial,' 'great work' of a permanent public work; cf. Cic. *Fam.* 1. 9. 15 'non meum monumentum (non enim illae manubiae meae sed operis locatio mea fuerat,) monumentum uero senatus.' The plural is poetic. **uiaae.** According to Suetonius *Aug.* 30 'Augustus repaired the Via Aemilia as far as Ariminum himself and assigned the repair of the rest to those of his generals who had been honoured with a triumph 'reliquas triumphalibus uiris ex manubiali pecunia sternendas distribuit.' The *manubiae* or proceeds of spoils taken in war were divided equally between the state, the general, and the soldiers; but the general often devoted his share to the construction of public works. From v. 59 we see that Messalla did this. The road which he repaired was a section of the Via Latina, including the part between Rome and Tusculum and the Alban Hills. A section of the same road further on was repaired by C. Calvisius Sabinus who triumphed for victories in Spain in B.C. 28, and whose name has been preserved by inscriptions on milestones near Aquinum and Casinum, Corp. Inscr. x. 6895, etc. **Tuscula**, an adj. formed like *Aquitanus*, cf. n. on 9. The prose derivative is *Tusculanus*.

58. **candida**, an allusion to the name Alba which the Romans believed was derived from a white sow with a litter of thirty young that was fabled to have been found on the site of the city; see Virg. *Aen.* 8. 43 *sqq.* and Prop. 4. 1. 35. 'Alba potens, albae suis omine nata,' For -que 'or'; cf.



Crit. App. **detinet** keeps from his home in Rome. He has business in the country.

59. **opibus...tuis**, see n. on 57. **glarea...silex**. This refers to two different methods of constructing the upper surface of roads. Where the traffic was heavy, great irregularly shaped blocks of basaltic lava or other hard stone were accurately fitted together (*silice sternere*). Where the traffic was lighter, gravel (*glarea*) was used and hammered down till it was smooth and hard (*dura*; *glarea sternere*) cf. Livy 41. 27. 5 'censores' (B. C. 174) 'uias sternendas silice in urbe, glarea extra urbem substruendas marginandasque' (of providing a side walk) *primi omnium locauerunt.* **apta**, *apte* would have been used in prose.

62. **inoffensum** 'without stumbling.' Participles compounded with negatives not unfrequently retain their full verbal force. **serus**, this adj. is often used for the adverb in the poets and Livy.

63. **natalis**. It is almost impossible to say whether the genius, the god of the birthday, or the birthday itself is meant; Ovid (*Trist.* 3. 13) appears to confound the two, in expression at least, if not in thought; see esp. vv. 9, 10.

64. **candidior**. White was the colour of happiness. So Ovid, in celebrating his absent wife's birthday, *Trist.* 5. 5. 13 sq. says 'optime natalis, quamuis procul absumus, opto | candidus huc uenias dissimilisque meo.'

## 6 [I. x. 1-50]

Tibullus has received or expects to receive a summons to active service in the field. The only indications of the circumstances (and they are very slight) are to be found in *trahor*, v. 13, and *aerata*, v. 25. *trahor* would be most appropriate to a combatant who was following in some one's train, and *aerata* (see the note) suggests a barbarous foe. Hence the occasion may be the eve of Messalla's departure for the East (2). From *militias* in v. 82 of that poem we may gather that Tibullus expected to see some fighting:

### ARGUMENT.

What a savage was the inventor of the sword! (1-4). Yet it is we and our greed of gold that ought rather to be blamed.

There was no war in the days of yore : would I had been living then ! (9—12). Now I must go to battle, perhaps to death (13, 14). May the Lares shield me now as in my childhood (15, 16). Let them not take it amiss that I worship them in a humble form. I but maintain the customs of the good old days (17—24). If they grant me safe return, I will offer a rustic's grateful sacrifice (25—28). Let others win glory in the field : let me listen to their stories of their valour (29—32). How mad to meet Death before our time (33, 34) and pass to the dreary realms below ! (35—38). Far better to live to a ripe old age in the calm and cheerful country life (39—42). This be my lot and let Peace shower upon me all the blessings she bestows (45—50).

1. **protulit** 'brought to light' 'invented' ; cf. Cic. *Acad.* 2. 1. 2 'artem memoriae quae tum primum proferebatur' 'the art of scientific memory (*i.e.* mnemonics) then first discovered.'

2. **uere** 'literally' as we say, *ἐτητύμως* in Greek. **ferreus**, *i.e.* as hard as the iron weapon he invented ; cf. for the jingle with *ferus* Cic. *ad Q. Fratr.* 1. 3. 3 'quem ego ferus ac ferreus e complexu dimisi meo.'

4. It is not clear whether **mortis uia** means the road *by which* death comes, (for which cf. Prop. 2. 27. 1 *sq.* 'At uos incertam, mortales, funeris horam | quaeritis et qua sit mors aditura uia,') or the road *to* death as in Hor. *Carm.* 1. 28. 16 'et calcanda semel uia leti.'

5. **an** gives a preferable alternative to that mentioned in v. 2 'or is it not rather the case that?' The two clauses in this couplet are contrasted. **miser** 'unfortunate' rather than 'guilty.' For **meruit** see on 10. 5.

6. **feras**. So Ovid introduces Pythagoras saying 'primoque e caede ferarum | incaluisse putes maculatum sanguine ferrum' *Met.* 15. 106 *sq.*

7. **diuitis** 'wealthy', 'enriching' ; of gold as in Lygd. 13. 15 ; compare *diuitias* Tib. 1. 1.

8. **faginus**. 'Beechwood' is often mentioned as the material of which drinking vessels were made in the olden times. Ov. *Fast.* 5. 322 'terra rubens crater, pocula *fagus* erant' 'of red clay was the mixing bowl, the cups of beechwood.' Cf. Pliny *N.H.* 16. 185 'Hence in olden times it was in repute for vessels as well (as tables). M.' Curius took



an oath that he had touched none of the spoil except a beechwood pitcher to sacrifice with.' **adstabat**. The prep. has the same force as in '*adesse*.'

10. **dux gregis** 'the leader of the flock' is here the *shepherd*; so in the *Culex*, a poem attributed to Virgil, l. 175 (of a snake) '*uidet ingens | aduersum recubare ducem gregis*'; usually it means the leading animal in the flock or herd, the ram, he-goat, or bull. **uarias**. This epithet is chosen for the reason pointed out on 5. 45 n. *uariae oues* were not a desirable possession in themselves.

11. Translate 'I should have lived *then*, and neither'; *forem* is used occasionally of an absolute past as in Virg. *Aen.* 3. 416 '*haec loca dissiluisse ferunt cum protenus utraque tellus | una foret*' (where the grammarian Servius notes the use as peculiar). The *imperf. subjunctive* was used more freely in expressions relating to the past in old than in Classical Latin, which preferred the pluperfect as a rule. So in wishes '*utinam in Sicilia perbiteres*' (*hadst died*); Pl. *Rud.* 495, after *si*, ib. 590 (with Sonnenschein's note). **uigili** (cf. Cr. App.) is *dat.* after **tristia**; cf. I. vi. 2 '*post tamen es misero tristis et asper, Amor,*' and 20. 18 (22), and for the sense 1. 4.

12. **corde micante** 'with beating heart'; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 3. 36 '*corque timore micat*.'

13. **trahōr**, Introd. p. xxxii. **quis** 'some'; its use in a principal sentence, though rare, is quite classical, occurring in Cic., Livy, Luc., etc. **forsitan** takes the subj. in Cic.

14. **haesura**; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4. 73 (of a stricken deer) '*haeret lateri letalis harundo*.' **latere**. The side is mentioned as the least protected part of a Roman soldier's body.

15. **et** 'also.' It might have been omitted; cf. Crit. App. **idem**. The sense is: 'Be true to your past; you reared me when a child; keep me safe now.' When a person's condition or actions at one time are compared with his condition or actions at another, the comparison is often emphasized by saying he is the same person, *idem*, cf. 11. 103 n.

16. The images of the Lares were in the *Lararium*, a cupboard-like shrine (hence called *aedes* in v. 20) by the family hearth.

17. **stipite**. The Lares were of roughly-hewn wood, like the figures of Terminus (1. 23 *sq.*)

18. **ueteris aui**. Cf. 1. 42.

19. **tenuere** 'the world kept faith.' The subject, which is indefinite, is to be supplied; so in 2. 35. **paupere cultu** 'with humble adornment.' For the adj. cf. 1. 37, which passage should be compared with this, and for the abl. cf. 19. 11 'Tyria procedere palla.'

21. **placatus** 'appeased,' i.e. 'gracious.' The participle marks the state. **libauerat**, 1. 26 n. **uuam** collective 'a bunch (or bunches) of grapes.' Tib. is speaking of offerings of the fruits of the earth.

22. **spicea sarta**, 1. 20 n. **sarta**, 'garlands' or 'festoons' (from *serere* 'to fasten together') must be carefully distinguished from *coronae*, which were circular chaplets.

23. **noti compos**. When his prayer has been granted, the head of the family and his daughter give special thank-offerings.

24. **post**, adv. of place with **comes**. **purum**, 2. 25 n. The little maid hands her father a honeycomb as in Ov. *Fast.* 2. 651 *sq.* 'inde ubi ter fruges medios immisit in ignes, | porrigit incisos filia parua fauos.'

25. **aerata**, with bronze points or heads; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11. 656 '*aerata* quatiens Tarpeia securim.' 'Barbarous' enemies are referred to, and this makes the mention of 'bronze' significant; for of course the Lares must *know* against what enemies their protection is invoked. The *pilum* and other Roman weapons had long been made of iron. **Lares**. Protection from the enemy was regarded as a special function of the Lares; see the passage of Festus quoted below and Prop. 3. 3. 11 'Hannibalemque Lares Romana sede fugantes.'

26. **hostia** according to the ancients was derived from *hostis*; Ov. *Fast.* 1. 335 *sq.* 'uictima quae dextra cecidit uictrice uocatur. | hostibus a domitis hostia nomen habet.' Festus: 'Hostia sacrificium quod Laribus immolatur quod ab illis hostes arceri putabant.' The verb, perhaps *cauet*, 'shall be sacrificed,' was in the hexameter which is lost. **rustica**; not without point. Tibullus pictures himself as returned to his farm and the victim as taken from his own

sty. **porcus**. From Hor. *Carm.* 3. 23. 4 and *Serm.* 2. 3. 165 we know that it was customary to sacrifice a pig to the Lares. A pig was also a common thank-offering on returning safe from war. Compare an old form of vow quoted by Aulus Gellius *Noctes Att.* 16. 6, from Pomponius (a writer of *Atellanae fabulae*) ‘Mars, tibi uoueo facturum, si unquam redierit, | bidente uerre.’

27. **pura**, *i.e.* white: cf. 24 n. **sequar**, the victim being led in front; cf. 7. 16. **myrto**. Myrtle was sacred to the Lares, Hor. *Carm.* 3. 23. 15. **canistra**, a flat open basket to carry the cakes, meal, etc. to be used in the sacrifice. **caput** 5. 6 n.

29. **sic** ‘thus’; not by bringing home spoils at the risk of my life.

30. Cf. Ov. *Her.* 3. 88 ‘et preme turbatos *Marte fauente* uiros.’

32. **miles** nom. in app. to the subject of *possit* (alius), the ‘hero.’ **pingere**. We should say ‘draw,’ but Tibullus is thinking of red wine on a white board. So Ovid pictures the soldiers returned from the Trojan war dipping their fingers in their wine and drawing plans of the battles on the table, *Her.* 1. 31 *sq.* ‘atque aliquis posita monstrat fera proelia mensa, | pingit et exiguo Pergama tota mero.’ The process is described by Tib. I. vi. 19 *sq.* ‘digitoque liquorem | ne trahat et mensae ducat in orbe notas.’

33 *sq.* ‘What madness it is to summon Death before the time. He will come before we know it.’

34. **imminet**, ever hovering over us. Death is often represented as winged.

35. **infra** ‘below,’ in the nether world, like Gk. *κάτω*. **culta**; cf. 1. 2. **audax** ‘bold,’ ‘fierce,’ an epithet of dogs; cf. Prop. 2. 19. 20 ‘audaces ipse monere canes.’ Cerberus is not afraid of attacking anyone. So Statius calls him *Thebaid* 6. 476 ‘ianitor atrae | *impavidus* Lethes.’

36. **turpis** ‘ugly.’ To us the word seems inadequate to describe the ‘portitor horrendus—terribili squalore Charon.’ Virg. *Aen.* 6. 299. But so also does *audax* as an epithet of Cerberus.

37. **pertusis** (cf. Crit. App.) ‘with eyeless sockets.’ *pertusus* lit. ‘bored through,’ ‘with a hole in it’ is here applied to

the sockets from which the eyes have disappeared. From this we see the meaning of Prop. 4. 7. 7 *sq.* where the poet describes the appearance of Cynthia's ghost 'eodem habuit secum quibus est elata capillos, | eodem oculos; lateri uestis adusta fuit.' That is, Cynthia's hair and eyes were the same as before her body was placed on the pyre: only her dress was burned. The *umbra* is often regarded as little better than a skeleton in appearance. It is called *ossea forma Ibis* 144. **genis.** For this use cf. Ov. *Met.* 13. 561 *sq.* 'digitos in perfida lumina condit | expellitque *genis* oculos.' For the abl. of description see n. on 20 above.

38. **pallida turba** 'wan crowd' of ghosts.

39. **quin potius** refers back to vv. 29—31. **laudandus** 'a hero.' There is an allusion to the application of *laus*, *laudare* to military services. How much worthier of being 'decorated' (as we might say) is the man of peace than the soldier. Cf. Sall. *Jug.* 54. **hic.** This quantity is rare in epic and elegiac writers. The only other examples in classical poets appear to be three in Lucr. (2. 387, 1066: 6. 9) and two in Virgil (*Aen.* 4. 22, 6. 791). **parata** is the participle of *parare* to 'get.'

40. **occupat**, 'overtakes' 'surprises' us. Hor. *Ep.* 1. 20. 17 *sq.* 'hoc quoque te monet ut pueros elementa docentem | occupet extremis in uicis balba senectus.' **pigra**, cf. 1. 71.

42. The wife is preparing a warm bath for her tired husband; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 2. 43 *sq.* 'uxor uetustis exstruat lignis focum | lassi sub aduentum uiri.'

43. **caput** is probably acc. of part concerned as in 28. **canis.** *cani* is an adj. used as a subst., *capilli* being understood. The recollection of this prevents it from having another adj. agreeing with it in prose.

44. **prisci** 'old times' when I was a boy.

45. **interea**, i.e. till I am old. **candida** 'bright and fair.' Peace glistens like her robes; cf. vv. 67. 68 of this poem 'at nobis, Pax alma ueni, spicamque teneto | perfluat et pomis candidus ante sinus.'

46. **aratuross**, i.e. ut arent. **curua** 'curved' made so as to fit the animals' necks.

47 *sq.* Peace, as a goddess, is said to do what is done in times of peace. Here the sense is that the vineyards are so



17. As we learn from Ovid *F.* 1. 669 there was a purification of the village or parish (*pagi lustratio*) at the time of this festival.

19. **eludat messem**, mock the reaper; *messis* is properly a verbal noun and means 'cutting.' *Messem feci* was used as the perf. of *meto*. **fallacibus**, i.e. blades of corn without grain; cf. Virg. *G.* 1. 226 'illos | expectata seges uanis elusit auenis.'

21. **nitidus** 'sleek' or 'spruce.' Properly of animals in good condition with glossy coat. **plenis** 'full of seed'; *semente peracta*, as Ovid says, *Fast.* 1. 667. So *ib.* 4. 634 he speaks of 'tellus plena.'

22. The sense is: He will keep up a good fire—a mark of prosperity.

23. **turba uernarum** 'a troop of home-born slaves.' *uerna*, which appears to have been a Sabine word, as we gather from the indications in Festus appears to have meant originally 'born on the estate,' 'qui in uillis uere nati,' or generally 'born at home,' 'native born,' as opposed to 'imported.' As most of these slaves would be young, *uerna* often signifies a 'young slave born at home' for which *uernula* is the more correct expression. Such slaves were often treated as foster-children and allowed a good deal of liberty; and hence *uernilis* came to mean 'pert,' 'saucy.' **saturi**, lit. 'full,' 'well-fed,' and so 'well to do.' **bona signa** 'welcome signs'; cf. 11. 83. For the general sense cf. Hor. *Epod.* 2. 65 sq. 'uernas ditis examen domus | circum reidentis Lares.'

24. This refers to children's games (cf. 8. 22), one of which was building with sticks or bricks, Hor. *Serm.* 2. 3. 247 'aedificare casas, plostello adiungere mures.' **ante** means 'in front of the fire' (22).

At this point the body of the victim is supposed to be opened and its liver examined by the haruspex (11. 13 n.).

25. **euentura precor** 'my prayers will be realized.' **extis**. *exta* which seems to have been a word of the priests (the common term being *viscera*) means the higher (or upper) internal organs, heart, lungs, liver, etc., and is therefore not the same as the Eng. 'entrails,' which includes the bowels.

26. **nuntia** 'prophetic' used as an adj., as in 16. 5. **fibra**. The *fibrae* are divisions or lobes of the liver of which, according to the medical writer Celsus, there were four.



27 sq. **fumosos** 'smoky.' The *apotheca*, or storeroom, where the older wines were kept, was in an upper part of the house, to which the smoke would easily penetrate. It was hence called *fumarium* or smoking room. This 'smoking' helped to ripen the wine. Cf. the passage of Hor. quoted below.

**Falernos.** We must understand *cados* from *cado*. **ueteris consulis**, *i.e.* of an old vintage, as we should say.

**Chio.** The sweet wine of Chios was mixed with the rough wine of Falernum to make a better drinking 'blend'; cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1. 10. 24 sq. 'at sermo lingua concinnus utraque | suauior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est.'

**uincla.** The *cadi* were closed by plugs of cork, sealed with pitch; cf. with the whole passage Hor. *Carm.* 3. 8. 9 sqq. 'hic dies anno redeunte festus | corticem adstrictum pice demouebit | amphorae fumum bibere institutae | consule Tullo.'

29. **uina** 'drinking.' The plural is poetical; as is the turn of the whole phrase, for 'dies celebretur uino.' So in 9. 51 'trahant Samiae conuiuia testae' is poetical for 'conuiuia trahantur Samiis testis.' **madere**, a rather familiar expression for being 'tipsy'; cf. 8. 8. Cf. the usual name for water-drinkers 'sicci' or 'dry men.' The subject of the infinitive is indefinite.

30. **rubor** 'a thing to blush for.' **male ferre** 'to carry one's feet ill,' *i.e.* to walk unsteadily.

31. **bene Messallam** 'good health to Messalla.' The acc. appears to depend on *ualere iubeo*, which is to be supplied in thought; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2. 637 'et "bene uos, patriae bene te pater optime, Caesar" dicite.' The dat. 'bene Messallae' (sit) could have been used.

32. **singula uerba** 'each word,' an exaggeration but a natural one. To interpret in the sense of 'each guest's words' would be very flat.

33. See introd. to 5. **triumphis**, n. on 3. 3.

34. **intonsis.** Till B.C. 300 the Romans wore their hair long, when, as Varro tells us, *de re rustica* 2. 11. 10 the first hair-dresser came from Sicily to Rome; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 2. 30 'hoc apud intonsos nomen habebat auos.' **auis**, 5. 56 n.

35. Tibullus invokes the favour and presence of Messalla as though he were a god.

36. **agricolis caelitibus**; cf. 3. 27. The deities invoked in the *Fasti* 1 (*l.c.*) are *Terra* and *Ceres*, who are addressed in v. 675 *sq.* as 'consortes operis per quas correcta uetustas | quernaque glans uicta est utiliore cibo.'

37. **uita** 'human life' or 'progress.' Cf. Pliny *N.H.* 18. 74 'panem ex hordeo antiquis usitatum *uita* damnauit.'

38. **querna...glande**. The poets often tell how men fed on acorns before the discovery of corn. Cf. *Ov. Fast.* *l.c.* and *Am.* 3. 10. 9 'sed glandem quercus, oracula prima, ferebant : | haec erat et teneri caespitis herba cibus. | prima Ceres docuit turgescere semen in agris, | falce coloratas subsecuitque comas.'

39. **illi**, 'they' Fr. *ils*; but *his* in v. 37. **primum**, they taught for the first time, whereas *primi* in v. 41 means they were the first to teach. Here either expression is correct. **tigillis**. The primitive roof, wooden beams covered with green leaves.

43. **pomus**. Latin most usually distinguishes the fruit-tree from the fruit by making the tree fem. and the fruit neut. So *pirus*, 'peartree,' *pirum* 'pear'; *cerasus*, *cerasum*. But the distinction is not seldom neglected especially by the poets, *e.g.* *poma* 1. 16.

44. **inriguas**. *Inrigo* has two uses, (*a*) of the *irrigator*, to bring water to a place, *e.g.* *Virg. G.* 4. 115; (*b*) of the *stream* itself, to water. Accordingly *inriguus*, which is used as its part. (*inrigatus*), means (*a*) 'brought to water' as here and in *Virg. G.* 4. 32 '*inriguumque bibant uiolaria fontem*' and (*b*) 'watered' (of the place); cf. *Prop.* 1. 20. 37 'et circum *inrigo* surgebant lilia prato.'

45. **aurea**. We have gathered from 3. 24 that the estate of Tibullus grew a light-coloured grape.

46. Nothing is more common in ancient writing than for a thing to receive the name of the condition or quality which it produces. Hence water is called *sobria*, and wine *securum* 'free from care' for which we should say 'care-dispelling'; cf. *Ovid A. A.* 1. 238 '*cura fugit multo diluiturque mero*.'

47. **sideris** 'the sun'; cf. *Ovid A. A.* 1. 724 '*a radiis sideris esse niger*.'

48. **annua** 'every year' would be in prose an adv., *quotannis*. For the adj. cf. *verno* in the next verse and 7. 33 n. **comas** 'its yellow hair,' of the ears of corn: cf. Ovid quoted on 38.

49 *sq.* refer to the art of bee-keeping. Honey was of the first importance to the ancient Romans as they had no sugar. **flores**, to be understood literally. According to Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 11. 16 the bees used flowers to strengthen the *propolis* which was the third layer or foundation of the comb 'e uitium pōpulorumque mitiore commi crassiores iam materiae *additis floribus* nondum tamen cera sed fauorum stabilimentum.' So in § 20 'aliae flores adgerunt.' Similarly Virgil *G.* 4. 39 mentions flowers, 'fucoque et *floribus* oras | explent collectumque haec ipsa ad munera gluten' and *ib.* 250 'floribus horrea texent,' and, (in a place which Tibullus may have been thinking of,) 54 'purpureosque metunt flores et flumina libant | summa *leues*,' which cannot possibly be understood of the pollen of flowers. **aluēō**, a spondee by synizesis, cf. *Orphēō* 25. 21. This synizesis was necessary if the word was to come into elegiac verse as the elision of the last long vowel of a cretic (— ~ —) before a short vowel was objectionable to the Roman ear.

51. **adsiduo...aratro**, *i.e.* *adsidue arando*. **satiatus** 'when he had had his fill,' cf. *Il.* 11. 87 ἐπεὶ τ' ἐκορέσσατο χεῖρας | τάμνων δούρεα μακρά (of a woodman).

52. **certo...pede** 'with fixed feet', *i.e.* in metre; cf. 5. 38 and 11. 112.

53. **satur**, 23 n. **modulatus** 'composed.'

54. **diceret** sc. *carmen*, 'chaunt' it. **ornatos**, as described in *vv.* 59, 60.

55. **minio** 'vermilion' 'cinnabar.' The rustic painted himself red in honour of the day. Pliny *N.H.* 33. 111 mentions as a custom of antiquity that the same substance was used to colour the face of Jupiter's statue on feast days and the bodies of generals when they triumphed, while it was also employed to mix with the ointments used at triumphal banquets.

56. **inexperta...ab arte** 'with unpractised skill'; cf. 3. 4.

57. **huic, agricolae. memorabile munus.** Though Hor. says *A.P.* 220 'uilem certauit ob hircum.' **a pleno ouili**

'from a full pen.' The goat for the prize was provided (no doubt for some consideration) by one of the wealthier farmers. **ouile** is a pen for goats as well as a sheep-pen, Ov. *Met.* 13. 827 sq. 'sunt fetura minor, tepidis in ouilibus agni, | sunt quoque par aetas aliis in ouilibus haedi.' The poets preferred it to the more exact term 'caprile.'

58. **dux pecoris hirtus**, i.e. *hircus*. So Ovid uses *dux gregis* of a ram, Ov. *Met.* 5. 327 'duxque gregis' dixit 'fit Iuppiter unde recuruis | nunc quoque formatus Libys est cum cornibus Hammon'; cf. *ib.* 7. 311 and *Am.* 3. 13. 17. For *hirtus* as an epithet of goats see Virg. *G.* 3. 287, Ov. *Met.* 13. 927. **auxerat** 'brought increase to' by purchasing the favour of the gods. For the reading adopted see Cr. App.

61. **exhibitura**. In the sense of 'producing', 'causing', 'exhibere' was a word of everyday life and was nearly always used of *disagreeable* things; e.g. *exhibere negotium*, *molestiam*. Hence its use here has a humorous effect.

62. **lucida** 'shining white'; cf. 5. 8 n. Propertius applies the word more appropriately to lilies 3. 13. 29 'nunc uiolas tondere manu, nunc mixta referre | lilia uimineos lucida per calathos.'

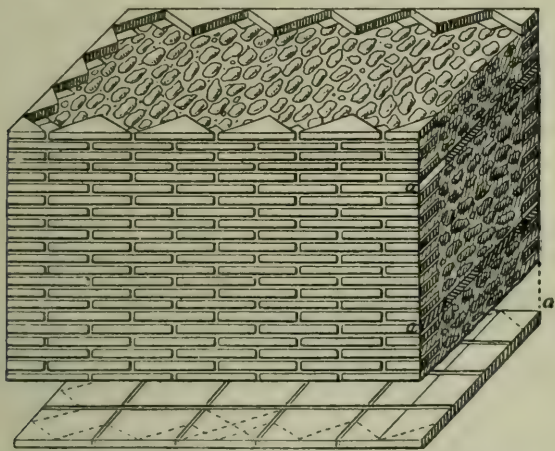
63 sq. Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1. 13. 28 sq. 'tu cum feminei possint cessare labores | lanificam reuocas ad sua pensa manum.' **pensa**. The word for wool to be spun into yarn. It was weighed when given out by the mistress and weighed again when made into yarn, and the two weights had to agree or the 'spinster' was punished. **colus**, the distaff, in which the wool was held while it was being spun. It had a stem which was fastened into the spinner's girdle. **fusus**, the spindle, a stick of about a foot long which was twirled in the fingers, and as it turned, twisted the separate fibres of the wool into yarn or thread.

65. **aliqua**; cf. 6. 23 and the similar use of  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  in Gk. The Eng. idiom, however, is to use 'the,' not 'a,' in such cases, or else the indefinite plur. 'weavers.' **Minervae**, dat. with **operata**; see v. 9 n. For the sense of *Minerva* cf. Ov. *Met.* 2. 33 (quoted on 2. 87).

66. **cantat**. So Iphigenia (Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 222 sqq.) tells how she sang of Hera and Pallas at the loom. **a pulso** (Cr. App.) **latere**. The loom clatters from or with the



movement of the loom weights. These were used to keep the threads of the warp tight (Seneca *Ep.* 90. 20, where they are called *pondera*) and when the batten or comb (*pecten*) was used to drive the threads of the woof together to make the fabric close and firm, they would strike and clatter together. They are here called *lateres*, because they were made of *terra cotta* or baked clay and in shape they were like triangular bricks. Compare the illustration below with that showing the loom weights on p. 26. For the collective singular cf. 11. 31, 2. 87 notes; for *pello* 1. 4 n.



Concrete wall faced with brick showing triangular *lateres*.

## 8 [II. II.]

A birthday poem to Cornutus, a married friend of the poet, *Introd.* pp. xx., xxviii. n. 3.

### ARGUMENT.

Peace, all! Cornutus' birth-spirit is coming to receive his birthday offering. Quick, Cornutus! (1—8). Put up the prayer that he is all readiness to grant (by this time heaven knows it well) that thy wife's precious love may ever be thine (9—16). Look! a sign to tell thee thy prayer is heard. May it prove true and bring thee children ere long (17—22).



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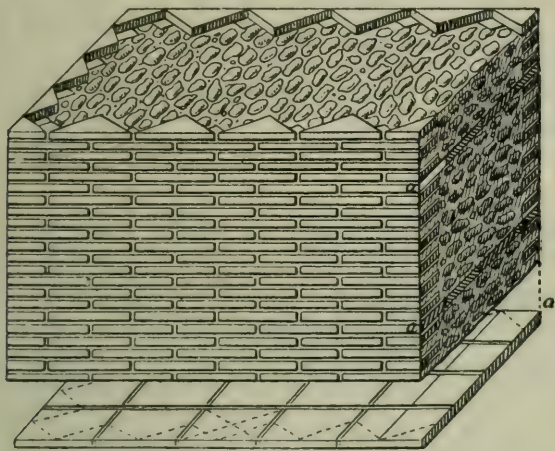
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1. **bona uerba**, words of good omen only ; cf. v. 2 and 7. 1 note. **uenit ad aras**, cf. 11. 6. In III. xi. (IV. v.) 11 *sq.* the birth-spirit of Cerinthus is asked to abandon C.'s altar if he is unfaithful to Sulpicia ; ' tunc precor infidos, sancte, relinque focos.'

3. **odores**, *e.g.* cinnamomum, casia.

4. Cf. Virg. *G.* 1. 57 'India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabaei' (a tribe in Arabia) ; Catull. 11. 5 'Arabesue molles.' The West is always ready to call the East effeminate.

5. **honores**, *i.e.* sacrifice ; cf. 5. 53. The MSS. have **Genius adsit** with lengthening in arsis ; but see Introd. p. xxxii. and Crit. App.

6. **decorent** has an imperative sense ; see 1. 4 n.

7. **puro**, 2. 25 n.

8. The Genius is believed to eat his fill of cake, and get tipsy with the wine.

12. **edidicisse** 'have learnt by heart.' They have heard it so often.

13. **malueris**. For the thought cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2. 12. 21—24 (quoted in Cr. App. on 14. 24).

15. **tibi**, *sc.* **malueris**. For the position of the dative cf. Prop. 1. 34 *sq.* 'et quocumque modo maluit esse mea | quam sibi dotatae regnum uetus Hippodamiae.' **gemmarum**. For this gen. after **quicquid** cf. 9. 14. **Indis** dat.

16. The pearl fisheries in the Red Sea were famous.

17. **cadunt** 'fall out,' 'happen,' that is 'be realized' ; cf. 4. 85 n. The metaphor is from dice ; cf. Ter. *Adelph.* 4. 7. 22 (740) *sqq.* 'ita uita est hominum quasi quom ludas tesseris | si illud quod maxume opus est iactu, non cadit, | illud quod cecidit forte, id arte ut conrigas.' We have a similar metaphor from cards in 'turn up.'

18. **flaua**. Yellow was the nuptial colour and so the colour of the bride's veil and her shoes. Hence in Catullus (68. 134) Love wears a saffron-coloured tunic 'crocina candidus in tunica.' **coniugio** 'spouse' = 'coniugi' ; so 16. 74.

19. **tarda**, as **pigra** 6. 40.

20. **inficiat** 'change the colour' ; here 'bleach' I. viii. 42 'cum uetus infecit cana senecta caput.'

21. *valeat*, i.e. *rata sit* 'be realized,' cf. Tib. I. iv. 23 'uēnuit pater ipse *ualere*, | iurasset cupide quicquid ineptus amor.' *haec...avis* 'this omen'; cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 616 (3. 4. 26) '*qua* ego hunc amorem mi esse *avi* dicam datum?'

22. *turba* 'band' of children, as in Prop. 4. 11. 76 '*illa meorum* | *omnis erit collo turba ferenda tuo*' where apparently it can only mean three at the most. Compare Stat. *Ach.* 1. 909 '*turba sumus*' (Achilles, Deidamia, and one child). *nouella* 'young,' the regular country word for *young* animals, vines, etc. This diminutive, which like so many other such drove out the Latin word from which it was formed, has produced the Fr. *nouvel*. *tuos*. It is very characteristic of Tibullus to think of the little children as playing near the image of the God and under his protection. Compare 6. 15.

## 9 [II. iii. 1-58 (62)]

Nemesis, the second mistress of Tibullus, had been carried off by a rival lover to his estate in the country, and the poet was left lamenting. The time was the late autumn, as we see from the allusions in the poem 3-8, and in verses 61 (65) *sqq.*

at tibi, dura *seges*, Nemesim quae *abducis* ab urbe,  
persoluat nulla semina terra fide.  
et tu, Bacche tener, iucundae consitor uvae,  
tu quoque deuotos, Bacche, relinque lacus.

As said in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. 26 (1899), p. 187: 'The time of Nemesis' removal to the country coincided with one of the most important dates in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, the commencement of the operations of ploughing and sowing. The operations took place towards the close of the year, the exact time of course depending on the weather. With this accords the allusion to viticulture in the next couplet (above) and the following one '*haud impune licet formosas tristibus agris | abdere*; non *tanti sunt tua musta*, pater,' the important work of *ablaqueatio*, or digging round the roots of the vine, being performed late in October.'



## ARGUMENT. 1—36.

My Nemesis has fled into the country and Venus and Cupid are gone with her too. Love bids me follow and endure any labour to be at her side (1—10). So did Apollo when he tended the herds of Admetus and cared naught for toil or discomfort or what the world might say (11—36). . . . .

1. *uillae*. Not 'villas' but large 'country houses'; *uilius*=our 'farm bailiff.'

2. *ferreus* 'iron-hearted'; 6. 2.

3. *latos* (Cr. App.) 'broad', 'open,' a very common epithet of *agri*, *arua*; cf. Virg. *G.* 2. 468, who speaks of 'latis otia fundis.' The vastness of the Roman *latifundia* is well known.

4. *aratoris*. Love is sometimes represented on ancient gems as driving the plough.

5. *dum* (Cr. App.), N.L.P. 411 (c), R. 1668.

6. *uersarem*. The tense implies that Tibullus does not hope to see his mistress in the country; at the end of this poem he writes 'si clausa mea est, si copia rara uidendi.' *bidente*. The hoe (1. 11 n.) is for turning the soil of the vineyard. A *pingue solum* was considered good for vines, Virg. *G.* 2. 184 *sqq.*

7. *curuum* refers to the plough-handle or plough-tail (*buris*). He repeats the idea at the end of the poem; 'ducite: ad imperium dominae *sulcabitur agros*.'

8. *subigunt* 'break up', 'turn up,' *steriles*. Brood cattle were not used for ploughing. *serenda* 'for the sowing.' These operations were about to begin.

9. *graciles* 'slim,' and therefore unsuited to hard work. *exureret*, for the subj. see N.L.P. 402 (and footnote), R. 1744.

10. *pussula* 'blister' is often wrongly spelt *pustula*.

12. *profueruntue*. For the place of *-ue* cf. 1. 40.

13. Cf. Ov. *Her.* 5. 149 'me miseram quod amor non est medicabilis herbis.' Apollo was a physician (*Ἀπόλλων παῖωνιος*); but he could not heal himself.

14. *quidquid...artis* 'all the resources of the healing art'; cf. 8. 15 n. *uicerat* is out of place, as it belongs to the principal clause; cf. notes on 1. 21, 51.



15. **expellere** 'drive out' to pasture.

16. **docuisse**, taught men how to mix. **coagula** 'curdling substance,' e.g. rennet. The word is derived from *co* + *agere* 'drive together'; to 'be curdled' is *coire*.

18. **mixtis**, abl. sc. *coagulis*. **obriguisse**. When compounded with neuter verbs *ob* often signifies a change of state. Another *dicitur* is to be supplied with the infin.

19. **fiscella**, a small basket made of wickerwork or rushes. It was specially used for holding a sort of cheese made with curdled cream, called *ricotta* by the modern Italians; Rich Dict. Antiq. s.v. Rich mentions that one of these with the cheese in it has been found at Pompeii. The word is a diminutive of *fiscina*. **detexta**; cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 2. 71 sq., where the same kind of basket is referred to, 'quin tu aliquid saltem potius quorum indiget usus, | uiminibus mollique paras detexere iunco?'

20. **rara uia** a 'wide' or 'free passage.' **per nexus** 'through' or 'between the interlacings' of the rushes; Ov. *Fast.* 4. 770 'dantque uiam liquido uimina facta sero.' **sëro**, the whey.

21. **uitulum gestante**. Apollo carries the sick or strayed calf as the shepherd in 1. 14 the lamb or kid.

22. **soror**, Diana.

23. **ausae**; *dicuntur* is to be supplied from the previous couplet. This will account for the mood of **caneret**, though in poets and Livy **dum**, 'while,' occasionally takes the subj. imperf. like *cum*; cf. Virg. *G.* 4. 457 sqq. 'illa quidem dum te fugeret per flumina praeceps | immanem ante pedes hydram moritura puella | seruantem ripas alta non uidit in herba.'

24. **docta**, the favourite epithet of the poet in Latin, as *σοφός* 'gifted' in Greek and 'inspired' in English. It reflects faithfully the unoriginal and artificial character of most Roman poetry.

25. **trepididis...rebus**. It is not clear whether this is abl. 'in their troubled fortunes' or dat. In Virg. *G.* 4. 448 'uenimus hinc lassis quaesitum oracula rebus' (perhaps here imitated) there is a similar doubt.

26. **inrita** 'disappointed,' *re infecta*.

27. **horrere**, of hair sticking out in disorder; cf. I. ix. 14 'uentis horrida facta coma.'

28. **nouerca**, Juno.

30. This is virtually a conditional statement and contains a use of a historic tense of the subjunctive which, though perfectly correct, is seldom found. Usually these tenses imply that the events referred to *did not* take place. But that is not the case here. Had Tibullus used the indicative, *aspiciebat...quaerebat*, he would have been understood to mean that someone actually did see Phoebus, and this he wishes to avoid. So in Livy 34. 9. 3 '*miraretur qui (=quisquis) tum cerneret—quae res eos tutaretur.*' **quaereret**, *i.e.* would have asked where was the long hair of Phoebus. *Quaerere*, like *requirere* (1. 41), is to look for something that is not there; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 6. 667 '*quaeritur in scaena caua tibia.*'

31. **Delos**, like Delphi, a famous seat of Apollo's worship. **Python**, or *Pytho*, the old name of Delphi, used especially of the sanctuary of Apollo where the Pythia, or priestess, uttered the oracles.

32. Cf. Ov. *A.A.* 2. 239 '*Cynthius Admeti uaccas pauisse Pheraeas | fertur et in parua delituisse casa.*'

33. **felices olim**. 'Happy the men of olden days when...' In this elliptical expression *felices* appears to be the acc. of exclamation. Cf. [Ov.] *Her.* 19. 111 '*felices illas, suas quas praesentia nosse | crimina uera iubet, falsa timere uetat.*' (N.L.P. 131).

35. **fabula** 'a byword'; cf. Prop. 2. 24. 1 '*tu quereris cum sis iam noto fabula libro?*' **ille**, Apollo.

36. The sense is, one who fondly loves his mistress would rather be a byword than a loveless deity. **deus** suggests that a god in love will not think of his god's rank. Nothing seems to be gained by making *deus* the subject to *manuit* as some interpreters do.

37, 38. For these lines which are incomplete in sense see Cr. App.

## II. III. 39-62 (35-58).

39 *sqq.* A complaint on the rapacity of his age.

Nowadays, love is nothing, and greed and luxury everything despite all the evils that they bring in their train (39-50).

Oh, that Nemesis were content with a humble mode of life ! But, as it is, alas, I must seek by pillage all I can to gratify her costly whims (51—62).

39. **praedam** 'rapine' used in a verbal sense ; cf. Lucr. 5. 1082 'et quom de uictu certant *praedaeque* repugnant (of birds who are fighting against being robbed of a fish they have caught). So *spoil* is used in Shakespere ; cf. my note in *Silua Maniliana* p. 38. In 50, however, the word is used in the ordinary way.

40. **est operata**, in a present sense, 'causes', 'effects' (7. 9 n.) ; cf. Aetna 383 'magnis operata rapinis | flamma micat latosque ruens exundat in agros.'

41. **cinxit**, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11. 536 'nostris nequiquam cingitur armis.' The word is commonly used of the sword.

42. **mors propior**, i.e. accelerated death ; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 3. 32 *sq.* 'semotique prius tarda necessitas | leti corripuit gradum' and 6. 4. **uenit**, which goes closely with **hinc**, is to be supplied with *crucor* and *caedes*.

43. **uago** 'tossing', 'restless' ; 12. 3. **geminare**, by adding the perils of war to the perils of the sea as is explained in the pentameter. Cf. Ov. *Pont.* 1. 2. 15 *sq.* 'qui, mortis saevo *geminant* ut uulnere *causas*, | omnia uipereo spicula felle linunt.' The subject of the inf. is indefinite, 'mankind.'

44. **dubiis** 'unsteady', 'rocking' ; cf. Ov. *A.* 4. 2. 516 'nec semper dubias adiuuat aura rates.'

45. **obsidere**, here not to 'beset' but to 'occupy,' to plant oneself on ; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7. 334 'Italos *obsidere* finis.'

46. **pascat** 'graze' ; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 11. 319 *sq.* 'uomere duros | exercent colles atque horum asperrema *pascunt*.' The compound *depascere* is more common in this sense.

47 *sq.* **externus**, such as those mentioned in 15. 13 *sqq.* **tumultu** abl. of accompaniment 'scaring the city.' The files of waggons carrying stone or timber were a serious danger to the houses and passengers in the streets of ancient Rome ; see Juv. 3. 254 *sqq.* Cf. Seneca *Ep.* 90. 9 'nec in hunc usum pinus aut abies deferebatur longo uehiculorum ordine uicis intrementibus ut ex illa lacunaria auro grauia penderent.' **ualidis...iugis** 'powerful teams' (of oxen). For *iugum* 'a pair of oxen' cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1. 564 'uix iuga mouissent quinque bis illud onus.'

49. He is referring to private fish-ponds (*piscinae* or *uiuaria*) made by enclosing a part of the sea with piers or breakwaters; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 1. 33 sq. 'contracta pisces aequora sentiunt | iactis in altum molibus.'

50. **neglegat** 'care nothing that the storm is raging near.' The verb has the construction of *non curo*; cf. Mark Antony's words quoted by Cic. *Phil.* 13. 33 'Theopompum nudum expulsum a Trebonio, confugere Alexandriam neglexistis.'

51. **tibi** (Cr. App.) Nemesis. **laeta** 'pleasing'; cf. 12. 10. **trahant**, 7. 29 n. **Samiae**. No pottery was more common than the smooth reddish ware of Samos.

52. **Cumana**. According to Plin. *N.H.* 35. 165 Cumae was famous for its earthenware. **terra**; we say 'clay.' **rota**, the potter's wheel; 'rota figuli cuius circuitu uasa formantur,' Seneca *Ep.* 90. 31.

55. **luxuria fluat** 'be dissolved in luxury.' So *luxu fluens* in Livy.

56. **incedat** 'pace,' 'step it.' **uias** 'and arranged their golden stripes,' apparently a technical meaning of *uia*, employed only here and by the commentator on Virgil, Servius, on *Aen.* 8. 660 'uirgatis lucent sagulis,' which he explains as 'quae habebant in uirgarum modum deductas uias,' i.e. having stripes running down them like rods. So *ὁδοί* 'paths' is used of bands of metal in Homer *Il.* 11. 24.

59. **comites fuscī** 'dusky pages.' Roman ladies were fond of these 'darkies.'

60. **admotis...equis**, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 22. 21 'pone sub curru nimium propinqui | solis.' **infecit** is used of any change of the natural colour, 8. 20 n.

61. **selectos** 'choice': cf. 3. 32.

62. **puniceum**, which is derived from Poenus 'Carthaginian,' is a bright purple, 'scarlet,' while *purpureum* is a darker purple.

## 10 [II. iv. 1-34].

The poet bewails the violence of his passion and the avariciousness of his mistress. This piece, though it rings with genuine feeling, has been regarded by some critics as merely a verse exercise in the Alexandrian manner.



## ARGUMENT.

I live in wretched slavery to love. Whatever I do, my mistress treats me ill. Would I were a senseless stone, if so I could escape this ever present misery (1—10). My poetry helps me not; for gold is all she cares for. So I will renounce the useless Muse (11—20). I must get what she desires by killing or sacrilege; and the temples of Love's Goddess shall be pillaged first (21—26). Out on the discoverers of precious stones and purple dyes! It is these that have made women grasping and corrupt. Hence have they to be watched and closely guarded; but all in vain, if the bribe is large enough (27—34).

2. *illa* 'old,' 'former.' For this sense and for the use of the voc. cf. II. iii. 74 'si fas est, mos precor ille redi.'

3. *seruitium triste*, not only 'bondage' but 'hard bondage', opposed to 'mite seruitium' Prop. 2. 20. 20. *sed* corrects and intensifies, so in 11. 7.

5. Whether I have been in fault or not, I suffer; cf. Ter. *Andr.* i. 1. 112 'quid feci? quid commerui aut peccaui?'

6. 5, 'nihil...meruit? 'has he done no wrong?' *urit*, cf. 19. 11 *sq.*

7. *ne possim* in connexion with *mallem* constitutes an irregularity of the same kind as those noted in *Introductio*. p. xxx.

8. Cf. Ov. *ex Pont.* 1. 2. 34 'ille ego sum, frustra qui lapis esse uelim.'

10. *naufraga* 'ship-wrecking.' *tunderet unda*. The sound echoes the sense, giving the boom and thunder of the sea; but the effect is lost unless the Latin words are pronounced correctly, viz. with the sound of *u* in *full*; cf. Catull. 11. 3 *sq.* 'litus ut longe resonante Eoa | *tunditur unda*.'

12. *nam* (Cr. App.) 'indeed', 'yea'; for *nam* see *Introductio*. p. xxix. *felle*, a bold metaphor when applied to *tempora*. Ovid *Am.* 1. 6. 55 *sq.* 'uitreoque madentia rore | tempora noctis eunt,' is less bold.

13. *auctor*, i.e. inspirer of my song; so Prop. 4. 1. 133 says: 'tum tibi pauca suo de carmine dictat Apollo.'

14. *caua...manu* 'hollow palm.' The beggar's hand is never full; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 91 'stipem quotannis die certo emendicabat a populo, *cauam* manum asses porrigentibus



praebens.' **pretium**, simply 'money'; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 16. 8 'conuerso in *pretium* deo.'

16. **sint** ..**canenda**, *cani possint*. This use of the gerundive is strange. It is not used generally to express 'possibility' in a positive sentence or when employed as a predicate. Cf. N. L. P. 362, R. 1403.

17. **solis**...**uias** refers to the sun's annual orbit, (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 796 'extra anni solisque uias,') as the next verse does to the moon's monthly revolution. **qualis** 'in what manner.' The construction of *refero* changes from the acc. to a dependent clause. For similar changes cf. 2. 17, 5. 3.

18. The indicative in *oratio obliqua* is rare (N. L. P. 431. 2). Latin poets seem to have affected the use of this mood for the subj. in referring to the problems of natural science; Prop. 3. 5. 25 *sqq.* is a striking example (see my *Silua Maniliana* p. 19 note).

21. **per caedem et facinus** 'a deed of blood' a sort of hendiadys. The two words are often coupled together; e.g. Cicero *Agr.* 2. 77 'quinque hominum milibus ad uim, *facinus, caedemque* delectis.'

22. **flebilis** 'weeping'; so in Hor. *Carm.* 4. 2. 21 '*flebili sponsae*' (and Gow's note).

23. **insignia** 'ornaments.' These are the gifts, *dona* or *donaria*, often of very great value, which were hung in the temples. So Val. Flaccus 7. 48 'cur age, non templis sacrata auellere dona | omnibus...libet?'

25. **suadet** 'suggests', 'inspires.'

27. The order is, 'quicumque uiridesque smaragdus legit et tingit.' Of course the collector of precious stones and the dyer of precious stuffs are different people. But Tibullus perhaps alludes to the practice of adorning purple garments with emeralds (and other precious stones) described by Claudian IV. Cons. Hon. 579 *sqq.*

28. **ouem** 'sheepskin', 'fleece,' the whole being put for a part; so *tigris, leo, taurus, aper, sus* are used of the skins of the animals by various Latin poets (compare also 2. 76).

29. **addit**. They 'supply motives for greed to maidens.' *addere* need not mean 'supply fresh motives.' **Coa uestis**, a fine gauzy stuff dyed in brilliant colours.

30. *rubro lucida*, an empty colour-contrast suggested by v. 28 : compare 5. 12.      *concha*, properly the pearl *shell*.

33. *feras* indefinite person, N. L. P. 355.

## 11 [II. v.]

### INTRODUCTION

This is the longest of the poems of Tibullus and at the same time the only one that has in any sense a national character.

Its subject is the admission of M. Valerius Corvinus Messalla Messalinus, the eldest son of Messalla, to be a member of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, the sacred college which had the custody of the famous Sibylline books, for which see Appendix B. This was a distinction frequently conferred upon young Romans of position and promise.

Its date cannot be fixed exactly. But it must have been written between the years 26 and 19. And inasmuch as in an inscription of the year 17 (*Eph. Epigr.* 8. p. 233) the name of Messalinus still comes last among those of the 'quindecimviri,' it is probable that it was one of the last poems that Tibullus wrote.

The poem begins with an invocation of Apollo. He is invoked not merely as the patron of poets but as the god to whose favour Augustus attributed his victory at Actium and to whom, in public and tangible proof of his gratitude, he built the magnificent temple upon the Palatine Hill, which was formally opened on Oct. 9, B.C. 28, and in which at some time or another were deposited the Sibylline books. The description of Apollo in verses 2-8 is taken from the famous marble statue of which Scopas was the sculptor, and which Propertius, in a description of the temple which is unfortunately imperfect, says was more beautiful than the god himself (2. 31. 5).

The topics of national interest upon which Tibullus touches are three.

*First.*—The victory of Augustus over Cleopatra, 'the hated queen' of the East, her besotted lover, Antony, and their monstrous following at the battle of Actium. The unholy alliance, as it seemed, between renegade Romans and Egyptian barbarians, had caused the greatest horror and

consternation at Rome, as may be seen from Horace *Carm.* 1. 37 and Propertius 3. 11. 29 *sqq.*, and the victor was regarded as the liberator of his country. There is a personal appropriateness in the reference here, as Messalla commanded a division in the naval battle, thus fighting, as he had previously written, against Antony.

*Second.*—The prodigies which were the signs of the wrath of the gods at the killing of Julius Caesar. From the first, compelled by personal and political reasons alike, the nephew of the Dictator made it an integral part of his policy to avenge the murder of his uncle. Until this sin against the appointed of heaven should be atoned for, there could be no peace for Rome. At no time probably in the history of Rome since the devastating African was on its soil was there greater tension or more distress at the capital than in the twelve years from B.C. 43 to 31. Of the feeling of those days all contemporary witness, except that of the Court poets, has perished. These were not free to utter their thoughts; but even so we can see how earnestly men prayed for peace and a stable *régime* to obliterate the past. The second ode of Horace, which was written before the settlement of affairs that followed upon the triumph of Augustus in A.D. 29, conveys a message fraught with meaning to those who read between its lines. The keynote is struck in the very first words, *Iam satis*, ‘Let us have rest: we have been punished enough.’ In this poem Tibullus bids his readers look back upon those terrible times of suffering and suspense, in joy and thankfulness that they are now but things of the past; ‘haec fuerint olim’ 79 and note.

The *third* topic is that of the ancient glories and high destiny of Rome: the themes of the great national epic whose appearance all Rome was so eagerly awaiting. Though Virgil’s name is not mentioned by Tibullus, there seems little doubt that in verses 39 (43) *sqq.* the *Aeneid* is before his mind—the *Aeneid* of which, about the same time, Propertius wrote 2. 34. 65 *sq.* ‘cedite, Romani scriptores, cedete Grai; | nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.’

Tibullus does not treat these three themes and the avowed subject of the poem, the admission of Messalinus into the sacred college, consecutively or in a set order. He interposes descriptions of country scenes and reflections upon his unhappy love, the two subjects to which his thought continually recurs: but to what extent the poem as we have it represents the arrangement of the poet it is not easy to say as verses

71 *sqq.* are clearly incoherent in their traditional place. We may notice however that he never loses sight of the god who is formally invoked at the commencement (see *vv.* 17, 65, 79, 106, 121) and in this respect (as in others) the hymn reminds us of another official composition, the *carmen saeculare* of Horace (1, 34, 61, 75) for which compare Appendix B, p. 189.

The coincidences between Tibullus and Propertius are particularly frequent in this poem.

#### ARGUMENT.

Phoebus, lord of the lyre, come and celebrate the entry of Messalinus into the sacred college in whose charge are placed the Sibylline books—come just as thou wast when thou didst sing Jove's great triumph (1—10). From thee as fountain-head flows all knowledge of the future (11—14). Do thou instruct him in the meaning of their dark sayings: for it is thou that dost inspire the Sibyl's verse (15—18).

So did the Sibyl show Aeneas the great destinies of his race, when Troy was in the dust (19—22) and the site of Rome was an expanse of fields and woods and water (23—38).

"Aeneas, I behold thy fated home in Italy and the stream which will see thy translation to the skies (39—44). At last comes victory to the Trojans and Rutulian Turnus falls. Laurentum, Lavinium, Alba Longa rise before my eyes (45—50). I see the nuptials of Mars and Ilia (51—54) and ROME of the Seven Hills, the fated mistress of the world, repairs the fortune of Troy (55—62). I speak the truth, or may I cease to be a seer and maid (63, 64)."

So sang the prophetess, invoking Phoebus and tossing her dishevelled hair (65—66).

Not less veracious have proved the utterances which the holy books contain by the mouth of the Sibyls, one and all (67—70). They foreknew the later woes of Rome, predicted by many a fearful prodigy, comets, showers of stones, battles in the skies, voices in the groves, weeping images, and speaking kine (71—76). Even the sun's light was dimmed (77, 78).

But now, Phoebus, away with every monstrous thing. Grant us a good sign of thine own (79—82). So shall there be peace and plenty in the land (83—88). Our wives shall bear children, with whom their sires and grandsires will delight to play (89—94). There shall be scenes of feasting through the country (95—100) and lovers' bickerings (101—



104). One thing, Phoebus, I would take from thee; I would have no bows or arrows any longer; the god of love has so misused them (105—108). I suffer most. For a year I have been a helpless victim to Nemesis and I can sing of no one else (109—112). But spare thy poet, maiden, that he may survive to celebrate a triumph of the son Messalinus which his dear father Messalla may live to see (113—120). If thou grant this, Phoebus, mayst thou have all thy heart's desire (121—end).

## [II. v.]

1. **tua templa**, on the Palatine. **sacerdos**. Messalinus.
2. **cithara**. The details of Tibullus' description of the harper god (*vv.* 2–8) should be compared with those of the figure of the Vatican Apollo as given in the illustration.
3. **uocales**, trans. 'singing.' The strings of the lyre are said to sing because they 'accompany' the human voices. Cf. 76 inf. note.
4. **precor** with the acc. and inf. is rare. It occurs in [Ov.] *Her.* 19. 82, Val. Fl. 7. 353, Plin. *N.H.* 18. 131. **laudes pias** (Cr. App.) 'a loyal paeon.' Throughout this poem Tib. purposely uses language which would make a Roman think of the victory at Actium; cf. notes on 10, 79, 80 and on 1. 57.
5. **triumphali...lauro** 'triumphal bay.' The triumph is of course for Actium. So Prop. in his poem on the battle and the thanksgiving to Apollo (4. 6) makes Apollo say (53 sq.) 'tempus adest; committe rates; ego temporis auctor! ducam laurigera Iulia rostra manu'; cf. *ib.* 10 'pura nouum uati laurea mollit iter.'
6. **cumulant aras** 'load the altar,' of grateful unstinted offering; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8. 284 'cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras.'
7. **sed** is used here to arrest attention. It has little aduersative force; cf. 10. 3.
8. **sepositam**, of things which are 'put away' to preserve them. The dress of the *citharoedus* was a very costly one, cf. Auct. Rhet. ad Herennium 4. § 60 'citharoedus cum prodierit optime uestitus, palla inaurata uestitus, cum chlamyde purpurea, coloribus uariis intexta.'



9 *sq.* Cf. Sen. *Ag.* 339 *sqq.* (addressing Phoebus) 'licet et chorda grauiore sonos | quale canebas | cum Titanas fulmine uictos | uidere dei.' The political reference here is unmistakable. The victory of Augustus over Antony and Cleopatra is compared to the victory of Jupiter over Saturn and the Titans.

11. *tibi defuitus* 'thy true slave.' Cf. I. ii. 97 'semper tibi *dedita* seruit | mens mea.'

12. *fati prouida* go together; cf. Ov. *Met.* 12. 18 '*ueri prouidus* augur.'

13. *regis* 'thou dost guide,' i.e. inspire, the *sortes*. *sortes*, 2. 11 n. *per te* 'through thee comes the prescience of the *haruspex*.' *haruspex* is used in its proper sense, an examiner of entrails of victims.

14. *lubrica* of the glistening, slippery appearance of the *exta*, especially the liver. *notis*, cf. Ov. *Met.* 7. 600 '*fibra quoque aegra notas ueri monitusque deorum | prodiderat*.' For a similar enumeration of the different kinds of divination see I. viii. 3 *sq.* '*nec mihi sunt sortes nec conscia fibra deorum,* | *praecinuit euentus nec mihi cantus auis*.'

15. *Sibylla*. For the Romans *the Sibyl* is the one who sold the original Sibylline books to King Tarquin. According to Varro, quoted by the Christian writer Lactantius, her name was Amalthea. In the course of time she was identified with the Sibyl who prophesied to Aeneas.

16. *senis...pedibus* 'in the six-foot measure,' i.e. in hexameters, Hor. *Serm.* 1. 10. 59. *canit*, pres. because she is still consulted.

18. The sense is: Show him the real meaning of the dark utterances of the Sibyl. Notice the rhythm of the pentameter, the first half of which is just like the second. The Roman elegiac poets allowed this but rarely. Tibullus has two more exx. I. iv. 4, v. 64 '*subicietque manus efficietque uiam*.' Cf. *Introductio* p. xxxi.

19 *sq.* *This Sibyl* would seem to have been, according to the oldest legend, the *Trojan* or Erythraean Sibyl; but in later versions, as Virgil's (*Aeneid* vi.), she is the Sibyl of *Cumae*. There can be little doubt that there was a legend that the Sibyl migrated to Italy; for Aristotle in his treatise *de mirabilibus* tells us that the Cumaeen Sibyl was a native

of Erythrae, and Liv. 1. 7-8 has 'ante Sibyllae in Italiam aduentum.' **Aeneae sortes.** Compare the words which he uses in *Aen.* 6. 72 *sq.* when promising the Sibyl a reward if she will grant his prayer for an oracle 'hic ego namque *tuas sortes* arcanaque fata | dicta meae genti ponam lectosque sacrabo, | alma, uiros' (the lecti uiri are the custodians of the Sibylline books). **postquam... dicitur sustinuisse**, *i.e.* 'postquam sustinuit ut dicitur.' Verbs of saying, etc. are often made the main verb of the sentence in Latin where we should put them into a parenthesis; Liv. 3. 39. 1 'sed magis obsedienter uentum in curiam quam obnoxie dictas sententias *accepimus*.' 'They displayed more compliance in coming to the House, as we are told, than servility in expressing their opinions.' The use of *dicitur* of course throws no doubt on the narrative; see 2. 10, 3. 10. **raptos** 'rescued'; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 378 'sum pius Aeneas *raptos* qui ex hoste *Penatis* | classe ueho mecum.'

21. **credebat** depends on *postquam*. The imperf. is used because the state of Aeneas' mind is referred to: Tibullus says he must have been incredulous that there was any great destiny in store for Troy when he saw the town and temples wrapped in flame. This *imperfect*, *credebat*, is contrasted with the *perfect* (or pluperfect) contained in *sustinuisse*. So in Livy 24. 36. 8 'postquam ea [occasio pugnandi] nulla *contigerat* tutumque ad Syracusas et munimento et uiribus hostem *cernebat*,' and elsewhere.

22. **ardentes**. Be careful not to translate 'Ilion and its blazing temples'; 1. 32 note. **deos** (Cr. App.), 'the temples of the gods'; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3. 275 'et formidatus nautis aperitur *Apollo*,' *i.e.* the temple of A., and *Aen.* 2. 310 *sqq.* 'iam Deiphobi dedit ampla ruinam | Volcano superante domus, iam proximus ardet | Vcalegon,' the 'house of Ucalegon.' The use of *deus* for a god's *image* is much more common; so *deam* 4. 48.

23-38 form an awkwardly introduced parenthetic digression in the Alexandrine style; compare the digressions in Cat. 68. 73 *sqq.*, 101 *sqq.* The awkwardness is increased by the fact that the verb of saying which should introduce the Sibyl's response (39) is here understood out of *dedit sortes* (19). The Romans appear not to have minded keeping their attention in suspense. In Hor. *Ep.* i. 15 the sentence

begun in v. 1 is broken by two parentheses and not concluded till v. 25, 27 *sqq.*

23. **formauerat** means 'had given their shape to.' We should say 'had traced'; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9. 80 'tempore quo primum Phrygia *formabat* in Ida | Aeneas classem.' According to the legend Remus leaped over the walls before they were finished, Ov. *F.* 4. 843. Compare the similar passage about the foundation of the 'Eternal City' in Ovid *Fast.* 3. 69 *sqq.* 'moenia conduntur quae quamuis parua fuerunt | non tamen expedit transiluisse Remo. | iam modo quae fuerant siluae pecorumque recessus | urbs erat; aeternae sic pater urbis ait.'

24. **consorti**, a word for 'brother' used in Ov. *Met.* 11. 347 and elsewhere. It means properly 'co-heir' in the common property (*sors*) and so is specially appropriate here.

25. **pascebant**, 'fed on.' The meaning and construction are both noticeable. For the *acc.* cf. Virg. *G.* 4. 181 'pas-cuntur et *arbuta* passim.'

26. **Iouis**, *i.e.* Iuppiter Capitolinus.

27. **lacte**, 1. 36 n. **ilicis**, a tree sacred to Pan.

28. **falce**. The rustic uses his bill-hook to hew a piece of wood into a rough figure of Pales. cf. Prop. 4. 2. 59 (an image of Vertumnus speaks) 'stipes acernus eram, properanti falce dolatus.' **Pales** was the old Italian goddess who specially watched and protected the flocks and herds. As Rome according to the legend was founded by shepherds, we see why the day of Pales' feast (the *Parilia* or *Palilia*) was kept as the anniversary of the city's foundation.

30. **siluestri...deo** apparently *Silvanus*, whom Virg. calls 'arum pecorisque deo' (*Aen.* 8. 600), a Roman deity to whom many of the attributes of the Greek god Pan were transferred. Like Pan, he is said to ravish the woods with his music; cf. Accius quoted by Cic. *N. D.* 2. 89, '*Silvani melo* | consimilem ad aures cantum et auditum refert.' The two gods are coupled in Virg. *Ecl.* 10. 24 *sqq.* and *Pan* was usually identified with the old Italian god *Faunus*.

31, 32. **harundo** is a collective singular (7. 66). **nam** has a very weak force, doing little more than joining this statement to the last. It may be rendered by a part. in Eng., cf. 10. 12 n. **usque minor**, *i.e.* each smaller than the last.

The pipe consisted of reeds which were necessarily of different lengths in order to give the different notes. See the illustration on p. 35.

33. **patet**, 'now extends.' **Velabri regio**. The 'quarter of the *Velabrum*' was the flat marshy ground which ran from the river between the Palatine and Capitoline hills as far as or nearly as far as the Forum. .

34. **pulsa**, by the oars of the rowers; cf. Propertius, on the same subject, 4. 2. 7 *sq.* 'hac quondam Tiberinus iter faciebat et aiunt | remorum auditos per *uada pulsa* sonos.'

35. **placitura**, going to find favour with; cf. 51 below. **gregis...magistro**, the guide or overseer of the flock, *i.e.* the shepherd. From *diti* and the next couplet we see that he was also its owner.

36. **iuuenem** 'her young lover,' the *magister gregis* of the previous line.

37. **niuea...candidus**. Tibullus took a farmer's delight in the sight of the white lamb feeding by the white sheep.

39. **frater**, Venus being the mother of both. In Virg. *Aen.* 1. 667 she appeals to Cupid to help his brother by making Dido fall in love with him.

40. **sacra**, the *Penates* or *Lares*.

41. **Laurentes agros**. It was in the territory of Laurentum on the left bank of the Tiber that Aeneas landed. The place was named from the baytrees (*lauri*) which according to Prof. G. G. Ramsay 'still grow in profusion on the low sandy tract where Aeneas landed.'

42. **uocat**, *i.e.* ad se.

43. **sanctus**. The corresponding modern word is 'canonized'; but it is to be observed that there were no 'saints' nor 'demi-gods' (Gk. *ἡρώες*) in the old Roman worship. A glorified man became a *deus*, of which word *sanctus* is a frequent epithet; cf. Prop. 4. 9. 73 *sq.* 'hunc (Hercules), quoniam manibus purgatum sanxerat orbem, | sic sanctum Tatiae composuere Cures' where Prop. is identifying Hercules with the native Italian god *Semo Sancus* or *Sanctus*. It properly means 'made inviolate by an enactment'; hence of the Plebeian Tribunes *sacro sancti* 'protected by a curse.' **ueneranda**, as being the place where Aeneas washed off all



his mortal parts ; see *Ov. Met.* 14. 596 *sqq.* After his translation he was worshipped under the title of *Iuppiter Indiges* *Liv.* 1. 2. *fin.*

44. *caelo* 'to heaven' softer than 'ad caelum.' This use of the *dat.* is almost entirely confined to poetry. According to the usual explanation the place is regarded as a person for whose benefit one comes or is sent. This is supported to some extent by the fact that the substantives which show it most frequently are *Orcus* (and its synonyms *Mors* etc.), and *caelum* (*polus* etc.) ; for Latin has a god *Caelus* corresponding to *Οὐρανός*.

45. *Victory* was probably a Greek goddess (*Νίκη*) but one early adopted by the Romans. The first known temple to her at Rome was erected in 294 B.C., *Livy* 10. 33. She is usually represented as winged. *super.* When Victory has not decided which side to favour, she flies between the combatants ; *Ov. Met.* 8. 13 'inter utrumque uolat *dubiis Victoria pennis.*'

47. The burning of Turnus' camp is not mentioned in *Virg.* *mihi* 'I see' ; for the *dat.* cf. *em tibi* so common in *Plautus* 'there's (one) for you.'

48. *barbare.* The *Sibyl* speaks as a Greek, to whom all other nations were *barbari* 'outlandish.' It *might* mean also 'savage,' 'cruel' as it sometimes carries both senses ; cf. *Prop.* 3. 16. 13 'quisquis amator erit, Scythicis licet ambulet oris, | nemo adeo ut noceat barbarus esse uolet.' Little is known about the *Rutuli* ; but they appear to have been of a different race from the Romans and of course from the Trojans. *necem*, see *Virg. Aen.* 12. 697 *sqq.*

49 *sq.* *Laurens castrum*, New Troy, the first settlement of the Trojans in Italy, at the place where they landed, cf. *Liv.* 1. 1. 4 'Aeneam...ab Sicilia classe ad *Laurentum* agrum tenuisse. *Troiae* et huic loco nomen est. ibi egressi Troiani' etc. It was founded as a camp and a town in one ; and hence Aeneas himself, as the founder, traced out the line of its walls *Aen.* 7. 157 *sqq.* So it may be called 'camp' '*Laurentia castra*' (*Aen.* 10. 635) or 'fortified town' '*Laurens castrum*' as here. *Numicius*, a small stream near the *lucus Iouis Indigetis* (*Plin. N.H.* 3. 56). It has been identified with a sluggish and winding stream now called the *Rio Torton*. *Lauini.* *Lauinium*, named after *Lauinia*, the daughter of *Latinus* and the wife of Aeneas, was the second



town he founded. **Alba Longa**, the third town, was founded by Aeneas' son Ascanius and named from the way in which it stretched along the Alban ridge. cf. Liv. i. 3. 3 'Ascanius . . . abundante Lauini multitudine florentem iam, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam urbem matri seu nouercae reliquit, nouam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis *Longa Alba* appellata.'

51. The Sibyl now alludes to the incident which brought about the founding of the fourth town, the great city of Rome (60, 61)—the union of Ilia (called Rea Siluia in some accounts) and Mars whose offspring were the twins, Romulus and Remus. **placitura** 'that art to find favour with.' (See also Cr. App.)

52. **deseruisse**. The verb implies that she was never to return.

53. **furtim**, an adv. where we should expect an adj. 'thy secret bridal.' A verbal noun has sometimes (especially in poetry) the constr. of the verb. Hence on the analogy of 'concupiscere furtim' (Tib. I. viii. 35) we have here 'concupiscitur...furtim.' This use must be carefully distinguished from another in which the adv. is used carelessly or from the necessities of the language for an epithet or for a relative clause; e.g. Plaut. Pers. 385 'non tu nunc hominum mores uides' (= τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων), Liv. 8. 1. 9 'aduersus Sidicinos arna sumerent suos *semper* hostes.' **uittas iacentes**. The fillet or snood, which she wore as a Vestal virgin was now thrown off and lying on the ground.

54. **cupidi** 'eager', 'enamoured'; cf. Prop. 1. 2. 17 'sic Idaee et cupido quondam discordia Phoebos.' **arma**. The legend seems to have represented Mars as coming down from heaven in full armour; cf. Juv. 11. 107 'ac nudam effigiem clipeo uenientis et hasta | pendentisque dei' which probably refers to this appearance.

55. **tauri**, cf. v. 25.

56. **iam** 'presently' in contrast to *nunc* (55). The student should note the frequency of *iam* in this prophecy of the Sibyl. Its effect is to call attention to the several scenes in the panorama of the future as they pass before her.

57. **tuum nomen** does not mean 'the power of thy name.' In order to understand the expression we must remember that to a Roman mind the name of anything almost necess-

arily involved the thing; so *Romanum nomen* comes to mean 'all those called Romans,' 'the Roman race'; cf. Ov. *Met.* 1. 201, *Trist.* 2. 221. **fatale** 'ordained by doom to rule the world.' The dat. is one of 'use or purpose served' (N. L. P. 141. 1) called by Roby (L.G. 1156) 'work contemplated'; cf. 'dies composita (arranged) *gerendae rei est*' Liv. 25. 16. 9. The prose constr. after *fatalis* would probably be *ad* with acc.; cf. Cic. *Cat.* iv. 1. 2 'etenim si P. Lentulus *suum nomen inductus a uatibus*' (Lentulus relied on a prophecy that three of the name of Cornelius would attain supreme power in Rome) '*fatale ad perniciem rei publicae fore putauit, cur ego non laeter meum consulatum ad salutem populi Romani prope fatalem exstitisse?*'

58. This line means 'wherever the earth is cultivated.' Ovid says in the same connexion *Fast.* 1. 85 *sq.* 'Iuppiter, arce sua totum cum spectat in orbem, | nil nisi Romanum, quod tueatur, habet' and Horace *Carm. Saec.* 9 *sqq.* 'Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui | promiss et celas aliusque et idem | nasceris, possis nihil urbe maius | uisere maius': but the deity that occurs first to Tibullus' mind is the goddess of the country.

59. **que** corresponds to **et**. **patent ortus** 'the East is opened.' Dawn was pictured as opening the doors of the East to let the rising sun through; cf. Ov. *Met.* 2. 112 *sqq.* 'ecce uigil nitido patefecit ab ortu | purpureas Aurora fores et plena rosarum | atria.' For the use of *pateo* cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1. 117 *sq.* 'quicquid ubique uidet, caelum mare nubila terras, | omnia sunt nostra clausa *patentque* manu.'

60. **abluit**; 'washes clean' is the force of the compound, Virg. *Aen.* 2. 719 'donec me flumine uiuo | *abluero*. **amnis**, Ocean, which was thought to be a river encircling the earth; cf. 16. 18.

61. **se** 'its new self,' *i.e.* Rome. For Rome was to rise, like a phoenix, from the ashes of Troy; cf. Prop. 4. 1. 87 *sq.* dicam 'Troia cades et Troia Roma resurges' and *ib.* 53 *sq.* 'Vertite equum Danai; male uincitis; Ilia tellus | uiuet, et huic cineri Iuppiter arma dabit.'

62. **bene...consultuisse**. The sense is that the Trojans did well to go into such a distant exile if they were to found Rome; cf. Prop. 4. 1. 39 'huc *melius profugos* misisti, Troia, *Penates*.' The theme is not neglected by Horace in the *Carmen Saeculare* 37 *sqq.* 'Roma si uestrum est opus

Iliaque | litus Etruscum tenuere turmae | iussa pars *mutare*  
*Lares* et urbem | *sospite cursu*, | cui per ardentem sine fraude  
 Troiam castus Aeneas patriae superstes | liberum muniuit  
 iter, *daturus* | *plura relictis*.'

63. **sic** 'thus,' *i.e.* if I speak the truth. **laurus**, the Delphic priestess and other inspired women chewed bay leaf to excite or increase the divine frenzy. **innoxia**, without harm from the poison the leaves contained.

64. **uescar**. This appears to be the only place in writers of the Golden Age where *uescor* takes the acc. It is perhaps due to the analogy of *edo* and other transitive verbs. **uirginitas**. The Sibyl is made to desire everlasting virginity for herself, as Phoebus (in l. 122) desires it for his sister Diana.

66. So the prophetess Carmenta lets her hair stream over her face Ov. *Fast.* l. 503 'utque erat, immissis puppim stetit ante capillis.'

In 67—70 (for which see Crit. App.) Tibullus gives the names of four Sibyls whose oracles were supposed to be included in the new collection. If we take *Amalthea* to be the name of the Roman Sibyl, there will be a Trojan, a Greek, and an Italian one. This does not appear to be accidental.

67. **Amaltheā** (from 'Αμαλθείᾱ), (cf. 26. 3 n.). **dixit**. The perfect should be noticed; all the inspired sayings which these Sibyls have ever uttered are now to be found in the books of which the xv uiri are the custodians. **Herophile**, the name of the Trojan Sibyl, the most famous of all the non-Roman Sibyls, according to Pausanias 10. 12. 1 *sqq.*, buried in the precincts of Apollo Smintheus. She came from *Marpessos*, a small town in the Troad. The Trojan Sibyl was a bone of contention between the Marpessians and the inhabitants of the much more important town Erythrae. In some verses of hers about herself quoted by Pausanias *l.c.* the latter contended that the true reading was πατρὶς δέ μοί ἐστιν Ἐρυθρή, while the former said that a line had been omitted and the original reading was πατρὶς δέ μοί ἐστιν ἔρυθρή | Μαρπησσός, μητρὸς ἱερὴ ποταμός τ' Αἰδωνεύς the epithet referring to the 'red marl' on which Marpessos stood.

68. **Phyto**, the name of the *Samian* Sibyl according to the scholiast on Plato *Phaedrus*, p. 244 B, and Suidas *Lexicon*,



s.v. *Σιβυλλα*. **admonuit**, of supernatural warnings: cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* 2. 166 ‘multa...ostentis, multa extis *admonemur*.’

69. **quaeque** (Cr. App.). *quae* is fem, and *que* couples it to *Phyto* ‘and she who.’ **Aniena**. The adj. of *Anio*. It is formed from its stem or base *Aniēn*, whence the gen. *Aniēnis* and nom. (in old Latin) *Aniēn*. Cf. Virg. *G.* 4. 369 ‘Aniena fluēta.’ **Tiburs**, i.e. *Albunea*, the celebrated ‘Sibyl’ of Tibur who according to the legend swam the Anio carrying her roll of prophecies in her bosom without the water wetting them. (Tibullus may have derived the story from Varro: see Appendix B.) *Tiburs* is the proper adj. for ‘belonging to Tibur’; another adj. is *Tiburnus*. But *Tibur-tinus* is a formation from *Tiburs*, *Tiburtis*, and means ‘belonging to the Tiburtine territory,’ whence *Tiburtini* means ‘the people living in the territory of Tibur,’ *Tibur-tinum* an estate there. Post Augustan writers, e.g. Pliny and Martial, use *Tibur-tinus* more freely.

70. **portarat...pertuleratque** (Cr. App.) ‘carried and brought safe to land’; cf. Seneca de beneficiis 3. 37. 1 (of Aeneas and Anchises) ‘Aeneas tulit illum per ignes et (quid non pietas potest?) *pertulit*.’ The poetical variation in the verb, *portarat* by *pertulerat*, is worth noticing.

71 *sqq.* Before these lines a passage of uncertain length seems to have been lost in which the poet passed from the early history of Rome to its recent troubles, now by the favour of Apollo to be ended in a beneficent new régime. (cf. Cr. App.)

71. **haec** ‘these woes’; i.e. all the troubles of the civil war beginning with the death of Caesar. **belli mala signa**, contrast 7. 23 ‘saturi bona signa coloni.’ **cometae**, properly ‘long-haired stars’, ‘comets’ but including meteors (*faces* Ovid below). The comet (*stella crinita*) which appeared after Caesar’s assassination and was visible for seven successive days was believed to be his soul now received into heaven; ‘and hence a star was placed above his statues’ Suet. *Iulius* c. 88. For the plural cf. *Georg.* 1. 488 ‘nec diri totiens arsere *cometae*’ and Manilius 1. 892 *sqq.* The portents referred to in the following lines are given also by Virg. *G.* 1. 465 *sqq.* and by Ov. *Met.* 15. 782 *sqq.* (who appears to have drawn his description from both Virg. and Tib., but especially the latter) ‘signa tamen luctus dant (‘the gods’) haud incerta futuri. | arma ferunt inter nigras crepitantia nubes |

terribilesque tubas auditaque cornua caelo | praemonuisse nefas. solis quoque tristis imago | lurida sollicitis praebebat lumina terris. | saepe faces uisae mediis ardere sub astris, | saepe inter nimbos guttae cecidere cruentae. | caeruleus et uultum ferrugine Lucifer atra | sparsus erat, sparsi Lunares sanguine currus. | tristia mille locis Stygius dedit omina bubo ; mille locis lacrimauit ebur cantusque feruntur | auditi sanctis et uerba minantia lucis.'

72. **lapis** 'meteorites.' It was their number, **multus**, which made them serious ; Livy 29. 10. 4 'in libris Sibyllinis propter *crebrius* eo anno *de caelo lapidatum* inspectis.'

73. Cf. Ov. above and Virg. *l.c.* 474 'armorum sonitum Germania caelo | audiit.' **strepitantia** 'clattering' suggests more of a discord than *crepitantia* 'ringing' which Ovid uses *l.c.* So *strepo* is used of metal ; Virg. *Aen.* 9.808 '*strepit* adsiduo caua tempora circum | tinnitu galea.'

74. **lucos**. For the voices in the sacred groves see Ov. (above) and Virg. *l.c.* 476 'uox quoque per *lucos* uolgo exaudita silentis | ingens.' **audita...praecinuisse**. The poets vary between the participle and past infinitive as is natural in cases where both are possible constructions ; cf. Ov. *Fasti* 2. 551 'bustis *exisse* feruntur | et tacitae *questi* tempore noctis aui.' **fugam**. This single word suggests all that Scott includes in the lines 'In the lost battle, Borne down by the flying.'

75. Compare Virg. *l.c.* 480 'et maestum inlacrimat templis ebur ('the ivory images of the gods') and Ov. above.

76 **uocales**. Oxen speaking is a portent often mentioned in Livy ; cf. Virg. *l.c.* 478 'pecudesque locutae, | infandum.' For this use of *uocalis*, which always has a reference to the human voice, cf. 3 n. Compare Prop. 2. 34. 37 'qualis et Adraști fuerit *uocalis* Arion | maestus ad Archemori funera uictor equus.'

77 *sq.* **defectum lumine** 'failed' *i.e.* 'forsaken' by its light, a common use of *deficio* both in active and passive, prose and verse, *e.g.* Ov. *Met.* 5. 96 '*sanguine defectos* cecidit conlapsus in artus.' Throughout the whole year of Caesar's death there appear to have been sun-spots, Plin. *N.H.* 2 § 98 'Long and portentous failures of the sun's light occur, as after the murder of the dictator Caesar and the [Senate's] war with Antony when the dimness lasted without a break



for nearly a whole year.' **pallentes equos**, 'wan steeds': *pallor* is often the opposite of *candor*. The horses and chariot of the sun brought no light with them. So Virg. *l.c.* 466 says of the sun 'ille etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romam | cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine textit,' cf. Ov. quoted above.

79. **fuertint** 'let these be bygones.' Cf. Manilius' words in a similar connexion, l. 922 'sed satis hoc fatis fuerit: iam bella quiescant.'

80. It was the custom of the ancient Romans to throw monstrous births into the sea. There seems to be a further allusion to the battle of Actium. To the Roman, especially at this time, Egypt was a land of monstrosities; compare the poem of Propertius referred to in the Introduction above and Juvenal *Sat.* xv. with Mayor's prefatory note. Horace, in his famous ode, calls Cleopatra herself 'fatale monstrum.' **sub** makes the expression more emphatic; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 342.

81. **laurea**. The bay is suggested by the mention of Apollo. If the bay leaves crackled when thrown into the altar flame it was a favourable sign. So Ov. says *Fasti* l. 344 'et non exiguo laurus adusta sono.'

82. **felix** 'blessed,' 'prosperous.' **sacer** 'hallowed'; but see Cr. App.

83. **gaudete coloni**, sometimes taken as a parenthesis.

84. **distendat** refers to the floor, which might sometimes break under the weight, as in Virg. *G.* l. 49 'illius immensae ruperunt horrea messes.' The ancient granaries were often built on short piers to protect them against damp and vermin. These were called *pensilia horrea*.

86. **dolia** 'butts,' the largest kind of vessels used for holding the new wine before it was drawn off into *amphorae*. **lacus**, tanks into which the new wine flowed when the grapes were trodden.

87-90. The mention of the ample vintage suggests the Palilia or Parilia, at which it was apparently a point of honour to get drunk. The main subject is resumed in 91.

87. **madidus baccho**, cf. 8. 8 and 'multo percussum tempora *baccho*,' I. ii. 3. **sua** is not otiose. It reminds the reader that the Palilia, the birthday of the great city of

Rome, was a festival of shepherds. So Ov. *Fasti* 4. 723 *sqq.* begins his account of it by saying 'Alma Pales, faueas *pastoria* sacra canenti.' So Prop. 4. 4. 75 'annua *pastorum* conuiuia.' **sollemnis**, acc.

89. **potus**. What they drank on this occasion was a kind of milk punch 'lac niueum . . . purpureamque sapam,' Ov. *l.c.* 780, *sapa* being new wine boiled down to a third of its volume. It was served in a large wooden bowl called *camella*.

91-94. The connexion of thought is: 'Not only will the rustic's farm be blessed, but his family will be increased.' After *dabit* the poet deviates again into a picture of the little children's winning ways.

91. **parenti** 'the father'; cf. Prop. 2. 20. 15 'ossa tibi iuro per matris et ossa *parentis*' (not *paterna* as I formerly read with Hoeufft).

92. This kind of kiss was called in Gk. a 'pitcher-kiss', *χύτρα*, as Pollux tells us (10. 100); cf. Theocr. 5. 132 *οὐκ ἔραμ' Ἀλκίππας* ὅτε με πρὸν οὐκ ἐφίλησε | τῶν ὤτων καθελοῖσ' ὅκα οἱ τὰν φάσσαν ἔδωκα. Cf. Plautus *Poen.* 1. 2. 163 'sine te *prehendam auriculis*.'

93. **aduigilare**, *i.e.* watch by him as he sleeps; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1. 147 'regum *aduigilantia* somnis | pila'—a very different picture.

94. **balba**. The old man lisps like the child.

95 *sqq.* We now have a scene of country festivities in the summer (as 96, 97 show). **operata**, see 7. 92 n. **dis-cumbet**, the usual word for company reclining at table.

96. **antiquae** 'old' and so large. **leuis umbra**, cf. Ov. *Met.* 5. 336 'nemorumque *leui* consedit in *umbra*,' 'airy shade.' But the precise force of the epithet is not clear. **aut**, *i.e.* failing natural shade. The conjunction is used quite strictly.

97. **ueste**, the *toga* (or any other upper garment) which could be stretched out on sticks to make a canopy or tent; cf. Ov. *Fasti* 3. 529 *sqq.* (where the festival of Anna Perenna on the 15th of March is being described) 'pars ubi pro rigidis calamos statuere columnis | desuper extentas imposuere togas. | sole tamen uinoque calent . . . sub Iove pars durat; pauci tentoria ponunt; sunt quibus e ramis frondea facta

*casa est,* and note on 7. 24. *tendent*, sc. *uirgis* or *calamis*. *sertis* 'festoons,' whereas *coronae* are 'chaplets' of a circular form.

98. *ipse* calls attention to the *calix*.

99. The force of *at* seems to be that they each prepare their own repast and couches separately.

101. *ingeret* 'heap upon,' here metaphorical of abusive language; cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1. 5. 12 'tum nautis pueri, pueris conuicia nautae | ingerere.' It is literal in 7. 22.

102. *mala mente* (abl. of quality N.L.P. 150 (B) 'demented,' the opposite of *bona mente* 'in one's right mind.' Compare a story told by Seneca, *de beneficiis* 3. 27, of a senator called Rufus, who when tipsy had made a foolish jest on the safe return of Augustus, and the next day 'descendenti Caesari occurrit et cum *malam mentem habuisse* se pridie iurasset, id ut in se et filios suos recideret optauit.'

102. In *post modo* 'a while after' *post* is the adverb, in *post modum* 'after a while' a preposition. But the sense is the same. *facta*, participle; N.L.P. 381.

103. The subject is *ille-suae-ferus* 'he who is now wild against his love,' ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄγριος τῇ φιλουμένῃ. In such a use we see the beginning of an article in Latin, the absence of which often produced obscurity; cf. 2. 15 n. For the dat. cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 4. 33 'Britannos *hospitibus feros*.' *sobrius* 'sobered.' *idem* contrasts these two conditions, 6. 14 n.

105. *pace tua* 'with thy leave.' For the abl. of accompaniment cf. 'bona tua uenia' which means the same. *erret* 'stray.' Love was a truant by nature.

108. *dedit* 'caused,' often with *malum, mala*; cf. Ter. *Andr.* 1. 1. 115 '*nam si illam obiurges, uitae qui auxilium tulit, | quid facias illi qui dederit damnum aut malum?*'

109. *et mihi praecipue*. For the expression and the metrical form cf. Prop. 1. 4. 25 *sqq.* 'non ullo grauius temptatur Cynthia damno | quam sibi cum raptō cessat amore deus, | praecipue nostro, maneat,' etc. *cum* with the indicative in a causal sense is a survival of the old Latin usage. Plautus *Rudens* 1234 'tu pauper es *quom* nimis sancte *piu's* (*pious es*). On verse 1207 Prof. Sonnenschein says '*quom* causal with indic. as always in Plaut.'

except when 'attractio modi' or a subj. due to subordination to an infin. is found.' *iaceo*, as we say 'I am down'; cf. 3. 9. *saucius* 'deeply wounded,' 'hard hit', as we say.

110. *faueo* 'encourage,' *i.e.* 'indulge my malady,' cf. *Ov. Am.* 2. 5. 11 'ferreus est nimiumque suo *fauet* ille *dolori*.' For the sense see 27. 18.

111. For the unusual caesura in the fifth foot cf. the *Introd.* xxxii.

112. *iustos pedes* 'its proper feet.'

113. The parenthesis explains *praemoneo*—*sacro*. *dinum*, Phoebus especially but also Bacchus.

114. *parce* means 'be kind to.'

116. *oppida uicta*. Representations of conquered towns, countries, and rivers, were carried in triumphal processions; cf. *Ov. Tr.* 4. 2, a poem where a triumph is described at full length.

119. *pia...spectacula* 'a spectacle of affection' we should say; but the ancient idiom prefers the adjective. Cf. 3. 2. note.

Contrast with this picture the one Livy draws of the execution of the sons of Brutus under the eye of their father, 2. 5. 8 'nudatos uirgis caedunt securique feriunt cum inter omne tempus *pater uultusque et os eius spectaculo esset, eminente animo patrio inter publicae poenae ministerium*.'

120. *pater* (*Cr. App.*) is of course emphatic. Cf. 2. 65.

121 *sq.* *perpetuo* is to be taken twice; cf. 22. n. For Apollo's unshorn locks cf. 9. 12, *Hor. Epod.* 15. 9. So Apollonius Rhodius 2. 708 *sq.* prays *ἰλήκοις αἰεὶ τοι ἀναξ ἄτμητοι ξθεῖραι, | αἰὲν ἀδήλητοι τῶς γὰρ θέμις*.

## 12 [II. vi. 1-42].

This poem is addressed to Macer, a friend of the poet, who had written love elegies. At least this is a fair inference from vv. 1 and 5. We do not know more about him. He may have been the Aemilius Macer of Verona, a friend of Virgil's, who wrote poems on birds, snakes, and plants (*Ov.*



*Tr.* 4. 10. 43), and died in Asia B.C. 16, or a younger Macer, who was a friend of Ovid's and wrote an epic poem on the Trojan war before the anger of Achilles, whence *Ov.* calls him 'Iliacus' (*Pont.* 4. 16. 6): or possibly neither.

#### ARGUMENT.

Macer is going to the wars. What will Love do? Go, or call him back? (1—6). If Love spares soldiers, I have the courage to be a soldier too (7—10). Vain boast! My wretched passion is far too strong for me; I cannot go (11—14). Love, thou dost use me so cruelly that I often long to die (15—18). I should have killed myself ere now, but Hope with her powerful spell keeps me alive (19—26). Flout not the goddess, Nemesis, but pity me for thy dead sister's sake. She watches over me, and at her tomb I will bewail my wrongs. She will not forget her suppliant, and thy sleep will be haunted by her terrible blood-stained form (27—38). Enough, enough! What am I that my mistress should shed one tear for me? (39—40).

1. *quid fiet* 'what is to happen to?'

2. *collo.* On marches the arms of the Roman soldier were slung round his neck; cf. *Plaut. Trin.* 594 *sq.* 'sed si alienatur, actum est de collo meo: | gestandus peregre clupeus, galea, sarcina.'

3. *uirum* does duty for a pronoun. *terrae*, cf. 2. 36 n. *uaga*, 9. 43 n.

5. *ure*; cf. 10. 6 n. There is an allusion to scorching as a torture of runaway slaves. *ferus*, like an untamed thing. *tua...otia* 'your peaceful life.'

6. *erronem* 'truant', 'vagabond.' *signa*, the standards of love are opposed to the standards of war.

7. *hic.* *homo* is usually added in this sense; so in Gk. ὅδ' ἄνθρωπος.

8. *leuem* 'quick-moving': from a running stream. *galea*, as soldiers often had to do; cf. *Prop.* 3. 12. 8 'potabis *galea* fessus *Araxis* aquam.'

10. *uires.* Strength and endurance were most important to the Roman soldier, as his equipment was much heavier than what modern infantry have to carry and he always fought at close quarters; cf. in a similar connexion *Ov. Her.*



1. 109 'nec mihi sunt vires inimicos pellere tectis.' laeta,  
as in 11. 51. See Crit. App. tuba 'the trumpet-call.'

11. magna loquor, like Gk. εἰπεῖν μέγα, is to boast.

12. excutiunt 'knock out'; cf. Cic. *pro Sulla* 24 'qui  
si attulerint neruos et industriam, mihi crede, excutient tibi  
istam uerborum iactationem.' Seneca *Troad.* 575 'magnifica  
uerba mors prope admota excutit.' fores, of Nemesis.

13. rediturum. Understand 'me.' The subject is more  
often omitted with the future inf. act. than with any other  
inf.

14. cum, in a purely temporal sense, as the ind. iuraui  
shows, 'every time that'; cf. N.L.P. 409 (c). tamen 'in  
spite of me.'

15. acer 'fierce'; so 19. 6. For this picture of Love see  
26. 7 sq.

18. nefanda loqui, talk impiously; cf. 17. 14.

20. Cf. Theocrit. 4. 41 τάχ' αὔριον ἔσσει' ἄμεινον.

21. credit, i.e. makes men entrust.

22. magno faenore. The husbandman lends the seeds to  
the soil, so to speak, at a high rate of interest; cf. Ov. *Rem.*  
173 sq. 'obruere uersata Cerialia semina terra | quae tibi cum  
multo faenore reddat ager.'

23. uolucres, e.g. the hawk, Hor. *Ep.* 1. 16. 51. captat  
'takes.'

24. abdidit; 7. 29 n. cibus, the bait; cf. Ov. *Rem.*  
209 sq. 'uel, quae piscis edax auido male deuoret ore, | abdere  
supremis aera recurua cibis.'

25. At this time large tracts of country were tilled by  
gangs of chained slaves; cf. Ov. *ex Pont.* 1. 6. 31 sq. (a pas-  
sage imitated from this) 'haec facit ut uiuat uinctus quoque  
compede fossor | liberaque a ferro crura futura putet.'

28. ne uincas. ne prohibitive with the present subjunctive  
is quite common in Plautus but rare in later writers.  
Tibullus has it once again, I. viii. 29 'munera ne poscas.'  
deam, i.e. Spes, here fully personified; cf. 1. 17 n.

29. immatura explained in 39 sq. According to the  
popular belief the dead girl could feel.

30. *tenera* 'soft,' cf. 5. 30.

31. *sancta est*. According to Cic. *Top.* 90 *aequitas* was divided into three branches; *pietas* relating to the Gods, *iustitia* (or *aequitas*) to men, and *sanctitas* to the spirits of the departed.

33. *fugiam*, as an ill-used slave flees to a temple for protection.

34. *cum* 'with,' that is 'to.'

36. *illius...uerbis* 'in her name'; cf. Livy 9. 36 fin. 'quinque legati cum duobus tribunis plebis venerant denuntiaturum Fabio *senatus uerbis* ne saltum Ciminium transiret.' *ut* 'as if'; for the *cinis* is *mutus*. *lenta* 'cold' 'unyielding' 'obdurate'; cf. Prop. 2. 14. 14 'nec mihi ploranti *lenta* sedere potest.' *ueto*, here, and in Hor. *Carm.* 3. 2. 26, takes the simple subjunctive on the analogy of verbs of commanding or allowing; cf. I. ii. 27 'nec sinit occurrat.'

37. *neglecti...Manes* 'the slighted dead' because her wishes are disregarded. For the apparitions of the dead in dreams cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 893 sq. 'sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur | cornea, qua ueris facilis datur exitus umbris, | altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto, | sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes.'

41. *desinō*. For this quantity cf. [Ov.] *Her.* 18. 203 (with Palmer's note) apparently an imitation of this passage 'desinō, parce queri.' The shortening of final *ō* in verbs was just beginning to find its way into serious poetry at this time. It is practically limited to verbs of the scansion ~ - or - ~ -.

42. For this self-effacing spirit of Tibullus cf. 3. 30 and Introd. xxiv.

### 13 [III. 1].

This poem forms the preface to the Third Book, for which see the Introd. Ch. II. Lygdamus sent it to Neaera (a lady from whom he had been separated but with whom he was still on friendly terms) on the first of March, the feast of the Matronalia, when Roman matrons sacrificed to Juno Lucina and received presents from their friends; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 8 and the beginning of Ov. *Fasti* 3.

## ARGUMENT.

To-day is the first of March and presents pass to and fro. Say, Muses, what shall I send to Neaera (1—6). “She will like a poetical tribute best. But see that it is enshrined in a bright and dainty volume (7—14).” So take this to her, Muses, and let it lose nought of its freshness on the way (13—16). Bring back the news of how I stand in her regard; but first give her good greeting from me and tell her that I shall cherish till death the hope that she may yet be mine (17—28).

2. *exoriens...annus* ‘the dawn of the year.’ It is not certain when the change in the beginning of the civil year was made; but after B.C. 153 the consuls always entered office on January 15. *hic* is ‘attracted,’ as it is called, into the gender of *annus*; cf. N.L.P. 162.

3. *uaga* ‘in all directions.’ For the use of the adj. cf. Cat. 64. 277 ‘ad se quisque *uago* passim pede discedebant,’ where *ad se*, like *certa* here, shows that ‘wandering’ is not the equivalent of *uagus*. *pompa* ‘procession’; of the slaves carrying the presents.

6. The first *seu* means ‘whether,’ the second *seu* ‘or if,’ as in II. iv. 43 ‘*seu* ueniet tibi mors, nec erit qui lugeat ullus, | nec qui det maestas munus in exequias.’ *tamen* refers to *seu fallor* ‘still dear to me though she be untrue.’

7. *formosae* is not a proper antithesis to *auarae*, as it cannot mean ‘vain of their beauty.’ Tib. would not have written this; cf. II. iv. 35 sq. ‘heu, quicumque dedit formam caelestis auarae, | quale bonum multis attulit ille malis.’

8 sqq. It is worth while comparing Lygdamus with his model Catullus (Introd. p. xlv.) who says simply l. 1 sqq. ‘Cui dono lepidum *nouum libellum* | arida modo pumice expolitum? | Corneli, tibi.’

9—14. A locus classicus on the ancient book. The papyrus on which the contents were written was rolled round a small wooden cylinder, the projecting ends of which, called *cornua*, were often painted, while the rough outside edges of the roll were rubbed smooth with pumice stone. The roll was wrapped in a case of parchment (*membrana*) which was dyed some bright colour, e.g. red or yellow, and secured with straps (*lora*). A small strip of parchment or papyrus was

attached to the top of the roll, giving the title of the work. This was called *titulus* and is referred to in v. 11 *sq.*

9. **lutea.** The colour seems significant ; see 8. 18 n.

10. **canas**, because the papyrus is snowy white. **comas.** Ov. *Trist.* I. 1. 11 *sq.* plays upon the word 'nec fragili geminae poliantur punice frontes, | hirsutus passis ut uideare comis,' where the dishevelled look of the 'hair' of the book apparently shows the grief of the author.

11. **praetexat.** The nom. is in v. 12. **tenuis chartae**, the thin papyrus. According to Plin. *N.H.* 13. 78 the merits of good papyrus are *tenuitas, densitas, candor, leuor.* It must be thin, stout, white, and smooth.

12. **littera facta**, the written inscription ; *facere litteram* occurs elsewhere, e.g. Plaut. *Asin.* 4. 1. 22 (767), Ov. *Her.* 5. 2.

13. **inter**, in the middle of the *frontes*.

15. **uos** is governed by **oro**, not by *per* which governs the acc. in the pentameter ; 3. 7. **auctores**, inspirers ; cf. 10. 13.

18. **nullus...color** 'none of its lustre' or 'bloom.'

17. **ite domum.** Not 'go home' but 'go to her (Neaera's) house' ; a strange use.

19 *sq.* The sense is : 'She will say whether she cares for me as much as I do for her, or less, or whether she has entirely forgotten me.' On the strange grammar see the Crit. App. The resemblances on the one hand to the Panegyric 24 *sqq.* 'at quodcumque meae poterunt audere Camenae | seu tibi par poterunt seu, quod spes abnuit, ultra | siue minus (certeque canent minus), etc. and on the other to Prop. 1. 11. 1 *sqq.* 'ecquid te, Cynthia, nostri | cura subit memores, a, ducere noctes?—ecquis in extremo restat amore locus?' are noticeable. **mutua.** Cf. Mart. 10. 20 (possibly an imitation of this passage) 'si tibi mens eadem, si nostri mutua cura est, | in quocumque loco Roma duobus erit.'

20. **deciderim.** So *excidere, effluere* are used in the sense of 'being forgotten.'

21. **meritam.** It was proper to give the greeting first ; cf. Stat. *Silu.* 4. 4. 10 'cui primum solito vulgi de more salutem,



| *mox inclusa modis haec reddere uerba memento.* **larga**  
**d.s.** 'present with plentiful good greeting'; an odd expression. See also Cr. App.

23. **frater**, a close friend, corresponding to *soror* (26). The usage, though found in Horace *Satires*, Petronius, and Martial, hardly belongs to serious literature any more than the Eng. 'I will be a sister to him.'

25. **magis**, quam antea. **medullis**, dat.

26. We may supply *es* with *futura*, a rare ellipse with the future part. (see Lucan 7. 782 and my note), or else take the nouns as vocatives.

28. The sense is: He will not resign hope of being your husband until he is dead and in the world below.

## 14 [III. II.]

On Lygdamus' separation from Neaera: see the previous elegy.

There is nothing in this or the next poem to *prove* that Lygdamus was rich; wishes cost nothing. The vulgar fancy for display which they betoken may show a man who has risen. Cf. *Introd.* pp. xlv. *sq.* and notes.

### ARGUMENT.

It is a cruel thing to separate the lover from the loved. I cannot bear it. It will surely bring me to the grave (1—8). Hear then how I would be buried (9—26), and what should be inscribed upon my tomb (27—30).

1, 2. 'He was a hard-hearted man who first parted a loving pair.'

5. **haec patientia** 'such insensibility.' Compare the ascending scale in Pliny *Ep.* 2. 10. 1 'hominem te *patientem* uel potius *durum*, ac paene *crudelem*.'

6. The implication is: Though I have a brave heart, it cannot bear everything.

7. **uitae**, apparently *gen.* after **taedia**. Lygdamus hints at suicide; cf. 27 *sqq.*

8. **nata**, pred. For the acc. part. after *fateri* cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1. 3. 111 '*iura inuenta metu iniusti fateare necesse est.*'

9 *sqq.* should be compared with the model, Prop. 2. 13. 17 *sqq.*

10. **supra**, adv. ; cf. Cr. App.

11. **ante meum**. Supply *rogum* from v. 12. The use of the *ante* is peculiar and hardly correct. With *ueniat* it ought to mean 'get in front of the funeral pile,' as in Liv. 7. 41. 1 '*Quinctius ante signa progressus*' means that 'he advanced in front of the standards.' It is employed correctly in the pentameter ; cf. 2. 8.

13. **matris dolore** 'her grieving mother.' For this use of the abstract subst. with a gen. cf. Prop. 1. 20. 15 *sq.* '*quae miser ignotis error perpessus in oris | Herculis,*' the hapless wandering Hercules ; also 15. 8.

14. **maereat...genero**. Though we say in Eng. 'weep for' a person, the dative is not correct Latin in this sense. *maerere* with the dat. ought to mean 'to mourn to a person' ; cf. Cic. *Sest.* 32 '*sive illa uestis mutatio ad luctum ipsorum sive ad deprecandum ualebat, quis unquam tam crudelis fuit qui prohiberet quemquam aut sibi maerere (indulge his own sorrow) aut ceteris supplicare?*' Prop. 1. 12. 15 '*felix qui potuit praesenti flere puellae.*'

15. **praefatae** 'addressing.' This word is generally used of a formal invocation of the gods at the beginning of a speech or the opening of a public meeting ; Livy 39. 15. 1, Virg. *Aen.* 11. 301 '*praefatus diuos solio rex infit ab alto.*' This *praefatio* must not be confused with the last 'farewell' to the dead which was uttered when the interment was complete. **recentem** (Crit. App.), the newly departed spirit ; cf. Ov. *Met.* 8. 488 '*uos modo fraterni manes animaeque recentes* (two are addressed) | *officium sentite pium.*'

16. **liquore**, properly 'fluid' ; but here merely a substitute for 'aqua.' **manus**. For the acc. compare *capillos* v. 11 and 1. 70 n.

17. **pars quae** would be the more usual order ; but cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1. 573 '*urbem quam statuo uestra est.*' These and similar so-called attractions of the antecedent of a relative appear to be mixed constructions : '*quam urbem statuo uestra est*' and '*urbs quam statuo uestra est*' between them producing '*urbem quam statuo uestra est.*'

18. *incinctae* with their robes ungirded. Suet. *Aug.* 101 tells us that Augustus' ashes were gathered up by the principal members of the equestrian order in ungirdled tunics 'tunicati et discincti pedibusque nudis'. For more see the Crit. App. **legent.** The fut. is used instead of the subj. for the sake of variety.

19. *annoso*, and therefore more precious. *lyaeo*, a name of Bacchus, 'wine.'

20. *fundere* ; cf. 5. 50 n.

21. After the bones had been drenched, they were to be dried with fine linen (or cotton) cloths. For *uelis* cf. Cr. App.

22. *domo*. The 'marble house' is a tomb ; cf. the *Conso-latio ad Liviam* 73 sq. 'claudite iam, Parcae, nimium reserata sepulera | claudite ; plus iusto nam *domus ista* patet.'

23. *illic* 'in that place.' *fundantur* is to be understood from v. 25 : where however he has, with a different turn, *eodem* 'to the same place.' (See also Cr. App.) **merces.** The perfumes were mixed with the ashes when these and the urn containing them were placed in the sepulchre. So Ovid in exile at Tomi, when giving directions to his wife for his interment, says (*Trist.* 3. 3. 65 sqq.) 'ossa tamen facito parua referantur in urna,—atque ea cum foliis (spikenard) et amomi puluere misce | inque suburbano condita pone solo.' **mittit** is the usual word for exporting to Rome, sending to the Roman markets. **Panchaia**, a fabulous island, placed in the Red Sea and supposed to produce quantities of frankincense and other perfumes ; cf. Lucr. 2. 417 'araque Panchaeos exhalat propter odores,' Ov. *Met.* 10, 307 sqq. 'sit diues amomo | cinnamaque costumque ferat sudataque ligno | terra ferat floresque alios Panchaia tellus.'

25. *memores*. The epithet is 'transferred' from the persons who weep to the tears ; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 11 end '*nostri memorem sepulcro | scalpe querelam.*'

26. *componi*, the usual word for placing the remains of the departed in the sepulchre ; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 5. 425 sq. 'extincto cineri sua dona ferebant | *compositique* nepos busta piabat aui.'

27. *littera* (as in 13. 12) the 'inscription,' for *litterae*, which the metre does not admit. **uersus** as in Eng. 'turned to dust.'

28. **fronte.** The inscription was placed on the face of the monument or sepulchre fronting the road. **celebri**, because Lygdamus hopes that it will be often read by the passers by. **notet**, for the act. see 7. 29 n.

29. **Neaerae**, objective genitive.

30. **perire** 'that he died,' 'of his dying.' For the infinitive, which appears to be an imitation of the Greek, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10. 90 '*quae causa fuit consurgere in arma | Europamque Asiamque?*'

### 15 [III. III.]

The subject of this elegy also is Lygdamus' separation from Neaera.

#### ARGUMENT.

I have never prayed nor pray for riches, as the foolish world does, but to live with you, Neaera, till I die. The Gods, however, have not heard my prayers (1-22). I am content with humble fortune if it is shared by you. Heaven restore your love to me. If the Fates forbid this, let me die! (23-36).

1. **Quid prodest...implesse**, sc. *mihi*. 'What avails it me that I have filled heaven with vows?' i.e. my prayers have been thrown away. For a similar exaggeration compare Virgil *Aen.* 9. 24 '*onerauitque aethera uotis*' and for *implesse* Val. Flaccus 2. 167 '*tum uoce deos, tum questibus implent.*'

2. **blanda** 'pleasant'; compare Prop. 4. 6. 5 '*costum molle date et blandi mihi turis honores.*' The 'caressing' odour of the frankincense was particularly agreeable to the Gods.

3. **prodirem**, said of the master of the house; so Hor. *Serm.* 2. 7. 12 '*unde | mundior exiret uix libertinus honeste,*' speaking of a poor house. The imperfect subjunctive follows the tense of *implesse*—*dedisse* which are *perfect* in sense, N.L.P. 228.

5. **renouarent**, of ploughing 'year after year'; such is the force of the preposition; cf. Ovid. *Am.* 1. 3. 9 '*nec meus innumeris renouatur campus aratris,*' *Met.* 15. 124 *sqq.* '*qui trita labore | illa, quibus totiens durum renouauerat aruum | quot dederat messes, percussit colla securi.*' For the



general sense cf. Prop. 4. 1. 129 'tua cum multi uersarent rura iuueni.'

6. terra benigna ; cf. 2. 62.

8. caderet 'fall dead,' usually by a sudden death. **nos-tra senecta**, i.e. ego senex ; see 14. 13 n. and Hor. *Carm.* 2. 6. 6 'sit *meae* sedes utinam *senectae* | Tibur.' **sinu** 'in your arms' ; cf. Prop. 4. 11. 64 'condita sunt *uestro* lumina nostra *sinu*.'

9. **tum** emphatic. Lygdamus does not wish to die a moment before his time. **permenso**. Compare for this sense Mart. 9. 29. 1 'saecula Nestoreae permensa, Philaeni, senectae.' The passive use of the part. 'traversed' does not occur again till the post-Augustan literature. **tempore** appears to depend on *defunctus* as in Hor. *Ep.* 2. 1. 22 'suis-que | temporibus defuncta.' **lucis** 'light' i.e. life as opposed to the darkness of death ; so *luce carentes* in Virgil of the dead. Propertius says finely 2. 15. 49 'tu modo, dum *lucet*, fructum ne desere uitae.'

10. **nudus** ; cf. Prop. 3. 5. 14 'nudus at inferna, stulte, uehere rate.' **cogerer**. The student should note the consistent way in which the 'accommodation' of the tenses is carried out. **Lethaea** ; cf. 17. 24 and 2. 80 n. The boat of Charon plied on the Styx ; but *Lethe* is sometimes used generally for the world below. So in Greek first in Simonides, Anth. Pal. vii. 25. λέπω | ἡέλιον Δήθης ἐνθάδ' ἔκυρσε δόμων. Lollius Bassus, who wrote a poem on the death of Germanicus A.D. 19 speaks of Charon's boat as *Ληθαίη ἄκατος* (Anth. Pal. ix. 279). Lucan (6. 685 *Lethaeos deos*) and Statius in a number of places use *Lethaeus* and *Lethe* of the world of death without any reference to the 'river of oblivion.'

11. **diuitis**, 1. 1 n.

12. The construction is changed, *quid prodest si findant ? mille* ; cf. Prop. 3. 5. 5 'nec mihi *mille iugis* Campania pinguis aratur.'

13. **Phrygiis...columnis** made of the marble of Synnas in Phrygia. It was a white marble into which, after the time of Nero, stripes of purple marble were artificially inserted, Pliny *N.H.* 35. 5.

14. The order of words is 'siue tuis, Taenare.' The marble of Taenarus in Laconia was another expensive stone ; Prop.

3. 2. 9 'quod non *Taenariis* domus est mihi *fulta columnis*' where *fulta* expresses the same sense as *innixa* in v. 13. **Caryste.** Carystus in Euboea produced a green marble with streaks like the waves of the sea.

15. A reference to the plantations of trees which wealthy Romans had in the open spaces within the house called *cauædium* and *peristylum*. These were often of very considerable extent; cf. Juv. 4. 6 'quid refert igitur quantis iumenta fatiget | porticibus, quanta *nemorum* uectetur in umbra?' **nemora...lucos** *nemus* is properly an open grassy space in a woodland surrounded by trees, a 'glade'; *lucus* on the other hand is a grove of trees, usually sacred to some divinity; see Prop. 4. 10. 14 '*lucus* ubi umbroso fecerat orbe *nemus*' where a grove had made a *nemus* by a ring of shade-trees'; Ovid *A. A.* 3. 689 '*silua nemus* non alta facit; tegit arbutus herbam (cf. Ov. *Met.* 1. 568); Hor. *Ep.* 1. 6. 31 'uirtutem uerba putas et | lucum ligna' 'you think virtue mere words, just as you think sacred trees nothing but timber.' Lucan 1. 454 sq. '*nemora* alta remotis | incolitis *lucis*'; Silius 6. 146 sq. '*lucus* iners iuxta Stygium pallentibus umbris | seruabat sine sole *nemus*.' This distinction, though sometimes obscured, as here, rarely disappears entirely.

16. In *trabes* there is a reference to the *lacunaria* or panelled ceilings of the Romans. The beams and rafters which by their intersection formed the panels, were gilded, while the space between was covered with ivory; see Prop. *l.c.* (on v. 13) 1. 10 '*nec camera auratas inter eburna trabes*'; Hor. *Carm.* 2. 18. 1 sq. '*non ebur neque aureum | mea renidet in domo lacunar*.'

17. **Erythraeo.** Lygdamus is airing his learning; contrast 19. 19 n. *legitur*, by the fisher for pearls; cf. Prop. 1. 14. 12 '*et legitur rubris gemma sub aequoribus*.'

18. **Sidonio murice**, cf. 10. 28.

20. **inuidia est**: they give rise to envy. And as Propertius says, 2. 25. 34 what is envied never lasts long, '*inuidiam quod habet non solet esse diu*.' **falso** not 'falsely,' but 'mistakenly'; so '*falso occidere*' in Naevius 'to kill in mistake,' '*falso lugere*' Livy, 'to mourn for one who is not dead.'

21. **leuantur** 'lightened'; used in a different sense (zeugma) with *mentes* and *curae*.

22. Fortune takes no account of riches but governs circumstances as she pleases. [For the reading see Cr. App.]

23. *sit*, not *erit*, because it is merely an imagination; so *findant* in 12.

24. *regum munera*, such gifts as kings bestow. For the thought compare Prop. 1. 14. 23 *sq.* 'quae mihi dum placata aderit, non ulla uerebor | *regna* neque *Alcinoi munera* despiciere.'

25. *cultu*, here 'habit of life'; Virg. *Aen* 5. 730 'gens dura atque aspera cultu'; cf. Nepos *Pausan.* 3. 1 'non mores patrios solum sed etiam cultum uestitumque mutavit.'

27. *niueam*. The usual word is *candidus* in this sense 'bright and fair'; cf. Prop. 2. 15. 1 'o me felicem! nox o mihi candida!', Cat. 8. 3 'fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles.'

29. *dulci reditu*, his return, or reconciliation, to Neaera is meant. The phrase is generally used of vows offered for safe return to one's country. *poterit*, a mere auxiliary verb; so *posse* in 26; cf. 5. 23 n.

30. *non meus* 'unfriendly' as 'mine' means 'devoted to me,' a not unfrequent use of the possessive pronouns; Ov. *Her.* 12. 84 'sed mihi tam faciles unde *meosque* deos?' Hor. *Epod.* 9. 30 'uentis iturus non *suis*.'

31. *regna*, the possessions of kings; cf. the passage of Prop. quoted on 24. *iuuant*. The indicative is more vivid than the regular subj. would be. *amnis*, Pactolus; cf. Prop. 3. 18. 28 'Pactoli quas parit umor opes.'

32. For the sense cf. Nepos *Epam.* 4. 2 'namque orbis terrarum diuitias accipere nolo pro patriae caritate.' *sustinet* 'supports'; an odd word in connexion with *orbis terrarum* and *opes*. In Plautus *Poen.* prol. 90 the word is much more appropriately used 'homini . . . quantum hominum terra sustinet sacerrumo.'

33. *Saturnia*. Juno, Saturn's daughter, invoked as the Goddess of marriage. But this appellation is usually employed where the context suggests a jealous, passionate, or formidable divinity, '*Saturnia* Iuno, | numquam oblita sui, numquam secunda nouerca' Germanicus *Aratea* 545 *sq.*

34. *Cypria*. Venus is asked to leave her favourite abode and attend to Lygdamus' prayer; cf. the complaint of Hor.

*Carm.* 1. 19. 9 'in me tota ruens Venus | Cyprum deseruit.' She is supposed to arrive by sea in her shell (*concha*).

35. *reditum*, 29 n. *sorores*, the three Parcae who spin the dooms of men.

36. *ducunt*, see 2. 86. *neunt*, a vulgar form for *nent*, found in no author of credit. It was formed by analogy: *neo*, *neunt* like *eo*, *eunt*. So *nit* is also found in glosses on the analogy of *it*. See also Cr. App.

37. *uocet*, of the call of Death which all must obey. Ov. *Her.* 6. 28 'uiuit an,' exclamo, 'me quoque fata uocant?'

38. *diues*, a pointless allusion to the name *Dis*, which was identified by the Romans with the adjective *dis* 'rich' as Cicero says *de nat. deor.* 2 § 66 'terrena autem uis omnis atque natura Diti patri dedicata est qui diues, ut apud Graios Πλούτων, quia et recidunt omnia in terras et oriuntur e terris.' *in ignaua aqua* 'sluggish' water, of the rivers and pools of the lower world. *ignauus* is rarely applied to things; Lucan uses the word of frozen water 5. 442 'saeua quies pelagi maestoque ignaua profundo | stagna tacentis aquae.' *luridus* 'wan' or 'sallow,' of the dim light of the world below; cf. Prop. 4. 11. 8 'obserat umbrosos *lurida* porta locos (rogos).'

## 16 [III. iv].

Lygdamus endeavours to work upon the feelings of Neaera by recounting a dream.

1-4. God grant that my dream last night may come to nothing.

1. *di meliora ferant*. This is a variant on such expressions like 'di meliora uelint' (Ovid), 'di melius duint' Terence, and (with ellipse of the verb) 'di meliora,' 'di melius' which are the more usual forms. It is doubtful however whether a correct speaker would have used *ferant*.

3. *ite* addressed to the 'somnia.' *uani* (masc. as though *somni* had preceded, Cr. App.) and *falsum* are both 'proleptic' epithets.

4. *in nobis* means: 'Do not seek infallibility at my expense.' See also the Crit. App.



5-10. 'Monitions of the Gods are true, true are the warnings of the entrails which the Tuscan diviners interpret. But dreams—are dreams mere bugbears of the night? Or do men propitiate them because they convey true warnings?'

5. *nuntia* nom. agreeing with *exta*; for the sense cf. 7. 25 *sq.*

6. *probata* tested and found true. *Tuscis uiris*, i.e. *haruspibus*.

7. *ludunt*, apparently transitive 'mislead.'

9. *uanum* (acc.) qualifies *metuens* N.L.P. 307 (1); but see Cr. App. *omina noctis*, omens sent in (or by) the night; cf. Prop. 4. 4. 23 '*saepe illa immeritae causata est omina lunae.*'

10. *farre pio*, the meal of sacrifice, *mola*. *saliente* 'leaping,' when thrown into the fire; we say 'crackling.' Lygdamus is copying Horace, *Intro.* p. xlv. He has not improved on his original. *placant* plural after *hominum* *genus*, an expression of multitude.

11-16 'Still, whether their warnings are true or false, let them be false in my case; for I have done nothing to deserve misfortune.'

11. *utcumque est* 'whatever the facts' a prosy expression. *illi, homines*. *monenti*, (Cr. App.) sc. *somno*.

12. *somno* in Latin means both 'dream' and 'sleep.'

13. *Lucina*. Diana was identified not only with *Triuia* (Hecate) and *Luna*, but with *Iuno Lucina*, goddess of child-bearing; cf. Catullus 35. 14 *sq.* 'tu (addressed to Diana) *Lucina dolentibus | Iuno dicta puerperis, | tu potens Triuia et notho | dicta lumine Luna.*' But the use of *Lucina*, in this connexion, is unparalleled in classical Latinity, and Lygdamus appears to have inferred from Catullus' words that the names were absolutely interchangeable. Foreigners, and persons of imperfect education, often make this sort of mistake. It is also possible that he thought that *Lucina* (as a derivative from *lux*) was the right goddess to dissipate '*noctis timores.*' Compare notes on 15. 38, 17. 7, 8.

14. *frustra* with *pertimuisse*.

15. *obnoxia*, under the influence of; cf. Sallust *Cat.* 52. 21 '*animus in consulundo liber neque delicto neque libidini obnoxius*'; cf. 17. 12.

16. Cf. 17. 14.

17 *sqq.* After this long preamble we get the dream. **quadrigis.** Night is usually represented as driving bigae or a two-horse car.

18. **mundum**, the sky. **amne**, 11. 64 n.

20. **deficit**, *i.e.* he is unable to cross the threshold of the House of Care.

21. **summo ab ortu**, *i.e.* he had fully risen. For the sense of **prospexit** 'surveyed afar', from a height, cf. 11. 58.

23. **casta**, a reference to the well-known myth according to which Daphne refused Apollo's affections and was turned by him into a bay tree.

26. **uidet** 'beheld' historic present; cf. 18. 60; for the reading cf. Crit. App.

28. **myrtea** apparently means 'myrtle-crowned,' an uncommon use of the adj. It is not clear why Apollo should wear the myrtle which belongs to Venus (note on 2. 66, a passage which Lygdamus may be awkwardly imitating). **rore.** This does not appear to be used elsewhere of unguents before the time of Martial. In Ov. *Her.* 15. 76 'Arabo rore' is a false reading.

29. **praeferet** 'shows' lit. 'carries in front' (*prae se fert*), Virg. *Aen.* 10. 210 'laterum tenuis hispida nanti | frons hominem praeferet.'

30. Expresses the red and white of the god's complexion which is successively compared to the blush on the fair cheek of a bride, to baskets of purple and white flowers, and to apples turning ruddy when they ripen.

31. **iuueni marito** probably the dative of 'person interested,' 'for'; compare Cat. 68. 143 'nec tamen illa *mihi* dextra deducta paterna | flagrantem Assyrio uenit odore domum'; although it might be dative of agent as we also find of the bridegroom 'uxorem deducit domum' (Ter. *Hecyra.* 1. 2. 60). The conducting of the bride from her father's house to her husband's (*deductio*) was the most important of the marriage rites.

32. **ore rubente**, abl. of attendant circumstances, giving the effect of **inficitur genas**, a clumsy expression.

33, 34. **amarantis** 'amaranths,' a purple flower. **alba**

...candida. In strictness *candidus* would better describe the vivid white of the lily, and *albus* the duller and yellowish white of the apple.

35. *palla*. The long robe of the harper (*citharoedus*) reached to the ankles on which it is here said to 'play' and was hence called *talaris*. For the whole description of Apollo compare Ov. *Met.* 11. 165 *sqq.* 'ille caput flauum lauro Parnaside uinctus | uerrit humum Tyrio saturata murice palla | instructamque fidem gemmis et dentibus Indis | sustinet a laeua ; tenuit manus altera plectrum.'

36. *namque* ; cf. *Introd.* pp. xxxix, xxix.

38. *pendebat*. It was suspended by a belt from the left shoulder. *garrula*, of the shepherd's pipe in 11. 30.

39. *primum ueniens*, means much the same as *ubi primum uenit* : but is more like Greek than Latin, cf. Theocr. 17. 75 γεινόμενον τὰ πρῶτα. The lyre was played both with the fingers and with an instrument for striking it (*plectrum* = Gr. πλῆκτρον and *pecten*) which was made of ivory.

Lygdamus says that Apollo began to play on the lyre with this instrument and then used the fingers because the character of his theme changed ('*felices cantus*' 40 but '*tristia uerba*' 42). We may compare for a somewhat similar contrast Statius *Siluae* 5. 3. 31 *sqq.* 'nec eburno pollice chordas | pulso sed incertam digitis amentibus errans | scindo chelyn.' If the text is right, *eburnus pollex* must mean the right thumb to which the ivory *plectrum* was attached, as Dr. W. Headlam has suggested to me ; compare Henry's note on *Aen.* 6. 648 'iamque eadem digitis, iam pectine pulsat eburno' with the illustration : but perhaps Statius wrote *pectine*.

43. *casto* 'holy' ; so in a fragment of Varro preserved by the grammarian Nonius (p. 267. 15) 'demitis acres pectore cantu castaque poesi.' The ancient poets were fond of representing themselves as devoted to the service of the gods and under their protection ; cf. 11. 113, 114.

45. *doctae sorores*, the poetic Nine.

46. *norunt*. *noui* is used with the infinitive as in Virg. *Aen.* 8. 317 'nec iungere tauros | nec componere opes norant' : but comes in weakly here. *sequens*, i.e. 'future.'

47. *aeui futuri euentura*, an inelegant and incorrect expression for 'the things which will happen in future time,' 'the events of future time.' Contrast *euentura* in 11. 11.

48. **pater, Iuppiter.** **posse uidere** is the object of **dedit**; cf. Tib. I. viii. 56 'ipse deus cupidus fallere posse dedit.'

49, 50. **non fallax uates** is in apposition to **ego** and similarly **deus Cynthius** is in apposition to *ego* implied in **feram**. Apollo dwells upon his infallibility, as Lygdamus would disbelieve the disagreeable tidings; but the tameness and verbosity of what he says are amazing.

51, 52. **quantum nec.** This is an example of false symmetry or correspondence. We expect *quantum non*; for it is hardly possible to take the *nec* in both lines as 'not even'; compare 18. 65. Virg. *Ecl.* 10. 11 sq. '*nam neque* Parnasi uobis iuga, *nam neque* Pindi | ulla moram fecere, *neque* Aonie Aganippe.' **bella puella**, 25. 5 n.

55. For the metaphor compare Homer *Iliad* 14. 359 where Homer makes Sleep say he wrapt soft slumber round Zeus, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ἐγὼ μαλακὸν περὶ κῶμ' ἐκάλυψα.

56. **uanum**, in a passive sense 'baffled', 'cheated'; coupled with *inrisus* in Tac. *Hist.* 2. 22 fin. It thus brings out the sense of **fallit**; cf. Ovid *ex Pont.* 2. 9. 29 '*uana* laborantis si *fallit* uota coloni' 'mocks and cheats his prayers.'

59. **suas** 'its own' (Cr. App). **diuersas** 'apart from you.'

60. **gaudet casta domo** 'delights in a chaste home,' a phrase for living chastely; cf. Lucan 9. 201 '*casta domus luxuque carens.*' **nupta**, i.e. *quamuis nupta*.

61. Compare 'Frailty, thy name is woman.' For *nomen* see 11. 57.

63. **illis**, i.e. *feminis*.

64. **tende**, like a suppliant; Virg. *Aen.* 3. 592 '*supplexque manus ad litora tendit.*'

65, 66. **ualidos labores**, a strange expression for *magnos labores*; cf. Cr. App. The subject to the infinitive is left indefinite, compare 5. 37. For **posse**, which could be dispensed with, cf. 48.

67. **Admeti**, 9. 11 sqq.

68. 'A story fabricated to make idle merriment.'

69. **sonora** 'loud'; the lyre being a more powerful instrument than the shepherd's pipe. *canora*, which has been conjectured, would be better.



70. *similes chordis* 'attuned to the strings.'

71. *perlucenti...auena*, the syrinx or Pan's pipe (*fistula* 11. 30 sq. note), the reeds or stalks of which it was made being open at both ends and so letting the light through. For this sense cf. Juvenal 11. 13 '*iam perlucente ruina*' of the cracks in a wall which is about to fall.

72. *ille ego* ; cf. 3. 9.

73. *ferre* 'to bear with' as we say. Propertius plays on this sense of the verb in 2. 24. 40 '*ferre ego formosam nullum onus esse puto*.'

74. *coniugium*, 8. 18 note.

77. *uera canunt*, 11. 63. The connexion of thought in the couplet is 'if oracles are to be trusted, let her trust this oracle of mine'; but it is awkwardly expressed.

80. *hoc* abl. *coniuge felix* 'happy in one's spouse' is a common phrase; cf. Ov. *ex Pont.* 4. 11. 22 '*coniugio felix iam potes esse nouo*.'

81. *ignaus* 'inactive', a standing epithet of Sleep; cf. Ov. *Met.* 11. 593.

83. *notis*, i.e. *meis*. The whole phrase reads like a tag. *crediderim* stronger than *credam*; see 4. 74 n. *esse* is to be supplied with *tibi*. Neaera is now addressed.

84. *pectore*. The usual constructions of *inesse* are the dat. or *in* with the abl. The simple abl. is similarly used with *insultare* in Prop. 3. 6. 24 '*si placet, insultet, Lygdame, morte mea*,' 'let him trample on my corpse.'

85-94. 'You are not sprung from the sea or any other cruel thing, but are the daughter of kindhearted parents.'

87. *anguina caterva* 'a snaky troop'; of the hundred snakes which encircled the three heads of Cerberus according to Virgil, Horace, and others. Horace refers to these snake-heads when he calls Cerberus 'hundred-headed'; cf. 2. 71 with critical note.

93. Cf. Catullus 68. 159 '*et longe ante omnes mihi quae me carior ipso est*.' But the emphasis is excessive here.

95. *in melius uertet*. So in Greek ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν. Cf. Mosch. 1. 27 ἀλλά μοι εἰς ἀγαθὸν μάκαρες κρήνειαν ὄνειρον.

96. *tepidos*. South winds are warm; but the epithet is merely intended for ornament here; cf. 3. 35 n.

## 17 [III. v].

This is a letter from Lygdamus who is ill to some of his friends who are staying near at one of the watering-places of Etruria. The time is early spring.

## ARGUMENT.

Lygdamus writes to friends who are staying at a watering place in Etruria that he is lying sick at Baiae (1—5). He is innocent of all sin (6—14) and still in his youthful prime. It is too soon to die (15—26). He trusts his fears are groundless; but he has been ill for fourteen days, while his friends are taking their pleasure (27—30). He bids them keep him ever in mind and put up prayers to Dis in his behalf (31—34).

1. **fontibus** abl. ; cf. [Virg.] *Culex* 148 'gelidis manans a fontibus unda.' These were springs of warm water of which there were several in Etruria, e.g. at Pisa, Taurus, and Caere.

2. **sub**, of time. **aestivum...Canem**, 1. 9 n. 'Hot Springs' were naturally avoided in summer. So Martial, speaking of Baiae (below v. 3), says 'horrida sed feruent Nemeaei pectora monstri | nec satis est Baias igne calere suo. | ergo sacri fontes et litora nota ualete, | nympharum pariter Nereidumque domus; | Herculeos montes gelida uos uincite bruma, | nunc Tiburtinis cedite frigoribus.' (4. 47. 5 sqq.)

3. **sacris**, to Hercules, the god of hot springs. **nunc**, i.e. in spring (v. 4). **proxima** 'next in rank'; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 12. 19 'proximos illi tamen occupauit | Pallas honores.'

4. **purpureo**, of the bright spring flowers; see Virg. *Ecl.* 9. 40 'hic uer *purpureum*, uarios hic flumina circum | fundit humus flores.' **se remittit** 'looses itself' of the frost-bound earth and so 'thaws'; cf. Ov. *Fast.* 4. 126 'uere nitent terrae, uere *remissus* ager.'

5. **nigram...horam**, i.e. the hour of death; cf. Prop. 2. 24. 34 '*niger* ille dies.' Virg. *Aen.* 6. 429 'atra dies.' **denuntiat** 'threatens', 'menaces me with'; cf. Prop. 4. 3. 61 'illa dies hornis caedem denuntiat agnis.'

6-14. The argument is: 'Spare me, Proserpine; I have not deserved death either by criminal acts (7-11) or designs (12) or speeches (13, 14).

6. *parce nocere* ; cf. N.L.P. 385.

7, 8. The general meaning of this couplet is 'I have not profaned divine mysteries.' *temptavi* 'tried to.' This expression shows the weakness of the writer. *nulli t.p.*, *i.e.* which only the impious could profane. See also Crit. App. *audax* 'in my recklessness.' Dr. Henry well points out in his *Aeneidea* that the termination *-ax*, which expresses a habit, gives *audax* a bad sense. *audax homo*, a man with the habit of daring, is a 'bold bad man' as we say. *laudandae...deae*. This is Proserpina (Κόρη) who with her mother Ceres (Δημήτηρ) was worshipped in the Eleusinian mysteries. The epithet appears to be a tasteless allusion to the Homeric *ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια*, which was interpreted as *ἐπαινετή* (laudanda). It is however generally explained as an allusion, equally tasteless, to the name of *Bona Dea*, who was identified by the Romans with Proserpine ; see also the Crit. App. *docere* 'publish,' a strange use ; 'instructing' was no more identical with 'publishing' when Lygdamus lived than it is now. He should have used *uulgare*. To reveal the mysteries of Eleusis to the uninitiated was a heinous offence ; cf. Ov. *A. A.* 2. 601 *sq.* 'quis Cereris ritus ausit uulgare profanis | magnaue Threicia sacra reperta Samo ? | exigua est uirtus praestare silentia rebus ; | at contra grauis est culpa tacenda loqui' and see also Hor. *Carm.* 3. 2. 25 *sqq.*

9. *infecit*, of putting poison in drink ; cf. Virg. *G.* 2 128 'pocula si quando saeuae *infecere* nouercae.' *sucis*, the juice of poisonous plants.

10. *trita*, bruised or pounded in a mortar, like the hemlock which Socrates had to drink when condemned to death, Plato *Phaedo* p. 117 τὸ φάρμακον ἐν κύλικι φέροντα τετριμμένον. *dedit* 'gave', 'administered' is distinguished from *infecit* 'mixed' ; cf. Cic. *Phil.* xi. 13 'hic nuper sororis filio infudit uenenum, non *dedit*.'

11. I have not sacrilegiously set fire to a temple.

12. *sollicitant* 'stir', 'tempt,' to wickedness. *facta*, *i.e.* facinora ; cf. 16. 15.

13. *insanae...iurgia mentis* 'the revilings of a mad heart' are such revilings as madness of heart suggests. The gen. is like that in Prop. 1. 3. 18 'expertae metuens iurgia saeuitiae' (the abuse to be expected from her evil temper). *meditantes* 'indulging in' ; *meditari* is properly 'to go over with one' self', to 'con,' and so 'practise.'

14. in *aduersos...deos* 'in the face of the gods.' Compare our expression 'flying in the face of providence.' *soluimus* 'opened my mouth'; cf. Ov. *Met.* 3. 261 '*linguam ad iurgia soluens.*' *laesere* 'harmed'; not an apt expression. For the white hairs do not injure the black hairs but the hair or head as a whole, just as clouds are said to injure or impair the daylight; Lucan 5. 456 '*laesum nube iubar.*' Tibullus (I. viii. 42) '*cum uetus infecit cana senecta caput*' and Propertius (3. 5. 24) '*sparserit et nigras alba senecta comas*' express the idea much better.

16. *tardo...pede* belongs in sense to *senecta*.

17. *primo*, which in classical diction means 'at the first' or 'to begin with,' is here used for the adjective, since the sense is 'my parents witnessed my first birthday'; so in Valerius Maximus (2. 6. 5) '*eadem bonos ciues corona decorandi primo consuetudinem introduxit.*' On this and the neighbouring verses see the *Introd.* p. xlv.

21. *pallentes*; cf. 13. 28.

22. *dura...tertia regna*. Where two epithets, with no conjunction between them, are joined to one substantive their relations to it are usually different (cf. 5. 15-20 with note). Here the second epithet *tertia* defines and the first *dura* describes *regna*. So in Virg. *Aen.* 6. 603 '*lucent genalibus altis | aurea fulcra toris*' *genalibus* tells us what kind of couches are meant, viz. banqueting and *altis* describes their appearance. *sortiti*, participle. An allusion to the well-known story of Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto deciding by lot (*sortitio*) which of the three worlds, the heavens, the sea, and the underworld, they should respectively govern.

23. *olim*; here of future time. *cognoscere* 'acquaint oneself with' and so 'visit.' The word is more aptly used by Prop. 1. 6. 13 '*an mihi sit tanti doctas cognoscere Athenas?*'

24. *Lethaeam ratem*, 15. 10 n. *Cimmerios*, 18. 64 n. Here = 'infernos' generally.

25, 26. Cf. 6. 44 n., 8. 20.

27. *atque utinam*, a common phrase of Propertius. *uano...aestu*. It is not easy to say whether he means 'a fever which will end in nothing,' from which he will recover or whether he means a 'groundless anxiety or trouble.' For



the first sense of *aestus* compare Cic. *Cat.* I. § 31 'ut saepe homines aegri morbo graui cum *aestu* febrigue iactantur' and for the second Hor. *Serm.* 1. 2. 110 'dolores | atque *aestus* curasque.'

29. *celebrantur* 'you are paying your devoirs to.'

30 describes the action of swimming. *facilis* 'yielding'; compare 1. 40 n. and cf. Prop. 1. 11. 12 'alternae *facilis* cedere lymphæ manu.' *pellitur* 'is moved,' 'displaced'; cf. Tib. I. iv. 12 'hic placidam niueo pectore *pellit* aquam.' *lenta* 'slow,' 'leisurely'; cf. [Ov.] *Her.* 19. 48 '*lenta*que dimotis brachia iactat aquis.'

32. The sense is 'Whether I shall live or die.' *fuisse* 'have been,' a not uncommon euphemism for being no more; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 325 'fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens | gloria Teucrorum.'

33. *interea* 'meantime,' i.e. while the issue of my illness is doubtful. *nigras*, the proper colour for victims to be offered to the gods of the lower world; see Hom. *Od.* 10. 525, 527.

34. Milk, honey, and wine constituted the usual drink offering or libation to the gods of the lower world.

## 18

[PAN. MESSALL., III. VII. = IV. I., 39-81].

ARGUMENT.—Messalla is eminent in military and in civil life alike. His transcendent merits in both are evenly balanced (39-43). Nestor, the long-lived, was not so great an orator as he (45-51), nor the famous wanderer Ulysses (53, 54). This hero himself, (of whose adventures a *résumé* is then given, 54-78) was Messalla's inferior in eloquence, though he may have been his superior in suffering (79-81).

41. *iusta* 'true'; explained in the next lines.

42 *sq.* 'Such that when loaded with two equal weights, its two scales waver unsteadily, either pan sinking in turn' (see Crit. App.). What the writer refers to may be seen every day in shops when small parcels are being weighed. *inaequatum*, the participle of *inaequo* 'make level,' (cf. Caesar *B.C.* 1. 27. 4), but here used for *aequo* 'make equal.'

43. **natat** 'oscillates', 'wavers'; in this sense more common of the mind; cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2. 7. 7 'pars multa *natat*, modo recta capessens, | interdum uitii obnoxia.' **alterno**, first one and then the other; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 4. 7 'alterno terram quatiant pede.' Tibullus does not use the word. **orbe**, the round scale-pan, generally called *lanx*, whence *bilanx* and English 'balance.'

44. **plus** goes with *sedet prona* 'sinks down' (for which cf. Lucr. 5. 474 'quod neque tam fuerunt graui ut *depressa sederent*') and with *surgit* 'it does not sink on one side or rise from the other more (than it should).' **ab**. The spectator is supposed to stand by the sinking scale. Hence the change from the abl. *hac parte* 'on this side' to *ab illa parte*.

45. **diuersi** 'discordant', 'divided'; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 39 'scinditur incertum studia in contraria uulgi.' **inconstantia uulgi**=uulgi inconstans; see 14. 13n.

46. **non alius**, *i.e.* as well as you. **seu...seu**, 'if on the one hand...if on the other.' For the arrangement of the sentence, in which one of the conditions with its consequence is made alternative to the other condition with its consequence, compare 19. 9-12 and Propertius 2. 1. 5-16. **ira**. Cicero *Part. Or.* 4. 14 tells us it was the business of the accuser to make the judge angry (with the defendant).

47. **tuis**, emphatic, 'yours *par excellence*.'

48. **tantos** takes the stress. 'Nestor and Ulysses were not such great men as you.' It is in the plural, in spite of the disjunctive *aut* 49; cf. Sil. *It.* 10. 38 'hic uero cecidere, hic poplite *caesis*.'

50 *sq.* **terna..saecula** 'three centuries.' In the *Iliad* (10. 252) Nestor is represented as having lived through two generations (*γενεαί*) and still being king in a third. As a *γενεά* was roughly speaking thirty-three years, Nestor would be still under a hundred. In the *Odyssey* (3. 245), however, the statement is improved into one that he reigned over three generations. *Saeculum* means both a 'generation' and a 'century'. It might therefore be doubted what it means here: but the Latin writers generally seem to represent Nestor as living three times as long as other men, and Ovid *Met.* 12. 188 makes him say 'uixi | annos bis centum; nunc tertia uiuitur aetas.' The writer of this poem refers again to Nestor's age in 112 *sqq.* 'testis Arupinis et pauper natus in

aruis | quem siquis uideat uetus ut non fregerit aetas | terna minus Pyliae miretur saecula famae. | namque senex longae peragit dum tempora uitae | centum fecundos Titan renouauerit annos.' *per orbem*, an obscure phrase generally taken as *per caelum* with a use of *orbis* found in I. ii. 51 sq. 'cum libet, haec *tristi* depellit nubila *caelo*; | cum libet, *aestiuo* conuocat *orbe* niues' (imitated by Ovid *Am.* 11. 49 sq.) and Hor. *Carm.* 3. 3. 7. *fertilibus*, however, suggests that it may = *per terras*.

51. *decurreret*, takes an acc. of the extent of time traversed. *fertilibus...horis* 'productive seasons,' the Sun's rays making the earth bear anew every year; cf. 'fecundos annos' quoted above and for the use of *hora* Hor. *Carm.* 1. 12. 15 sq. '*uariisque* mundum | temperat *horis*.'

53. *extremis* means 'at the end of the land,' 'bounding.' *includitur* 'shut in,' 'surrounded'; cf. Cic. *Somn. Scip.* § 21 the whole earth 'parua quaedam insula est, circumfusa illo mari quod Atlanticum, quod Magnum, quem Oceanum appellatis in terris.'

54. *reppulit* 'defeated,' and took their city on mount Ismaros. He was however driven out again, *Od.* 9. 39 sqq. In the account of his adventures which Ulysses gives in *Od.* 23. 310 sqq. he says that he *Κίκονας δάμασε*.

55. For *captos* see *Od.* 9. 94 sq. and cf. Crit. App.

56. *Aetnaeae*. The home of the Cyclops was placed by post-Homeric writers on Mount Aetna in Sicily. *Nep-tunius* 'son of Neptune.' *cessit* 'was worsted.'

57. *Maroneo...baccho*. The wine with which Ulysses made the Cyclops drunk was given to him by Maron, the priest of Apollo on Ismaros *Od.* 9. 197. *foedatus* 'with his eye ravaged' by the burning stake which Ulysses thrust into his one eye. *lumina*, a good example of a meaningless poetic plural: see 3. 3 n.

58. *uexit*, in the skins in which Aeolus fastened up the winds *Od.* 10. 19 sq.

59. *incultos* 'savage.' For the gigantic Laestrygones and their king Antiphates see *Od.* 10. 105 sqq.

60. *Artacie*, the spring where Antiphates' daughter was drawing water; *κρήνην καλλιρέεθρον* it is called by Homer. *inrigat* 'supplied with water,' historic present. Homer says *ἐνθεν γὰρ ὕδωρ προτὶ ἄστν φέρεσκον*.

61. *solum*, masc., prefixed for emphasis. All Ulysses' companions were changed into beasts. *doctae* 'skilled.' Homer calls her *δολόμεσσα*. *uerterunt* 'changed his shape'; cf. *Ov. Met.* 4. 422 *sq.* 'potuit de paelice natus | *uertere* Maeonios pelagoque immergere nautas?' *pocula*, *Od.* 10. 316 *sqq.* *τεῦχε δέ μοι κυκεῶ χρυσέφ δέπα ὕφρα πίοιμι, | ἐν δέ τε φάρμακον ἦκε κακὰ φρονέουσ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ.*

62. *apta* 'well-suited' and so 'able,' a rare sense; for the construction cf. *Ov. A.A.* 1. 10 'aetas mollis et *apta* regi.' The use of the particles *que*, *uel* is quite redundant and illogical; cf. 'quantum nec' 16. 51, 52 note. See also 74 below and n.

63. *cantu* 'magic song.' *ueteres* 'original', 'natural.'

64. *Cimmerion* (= *Κιμμερίων*). This Greek form of the case is very rare and is confined to names of peoples and titles of books, *e.g.* *Cynegeticon*, *Georgicon* (*liber*). Sallust has curiously enough two examples in the same section, *Iug.* 19. 3 'colonia Theracon' and 'Philaenon arae.' It is used here because before final *m* in Latin all vowels were short and the *m* did not count as a consonant. Consequently they could not remain unelided in arsis any more than simple short vowels. Cf. *Cr. App.* on 3. 33.

The Cimmerians, a people who lived in perpetual night, are placed by Homer on the verge of Ocean at the entrance to the lower world (*Od.* 11. 13 *sqq.*) ἡ δ' ἐς πείραθ' ἵκανε βαθυρροῦς Ὠκεανοῖο. | ἔνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμος τε πόλις τε, | ἥ ἐρι καὶ νεφέλη κεκαλυμμένοι · οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς | ἥελιος φαέθαν καταδέρκεται ἀκτίνεσσιν, | οὐθ' ὁπότ' ἂν στείχῃσι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα, | οὐθ' ὅτ' ἂν ἄψ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προτράπηται, a passage of which these verses are almost a translation.

66. *curreret*. The use of the subjunctive here and in 74 *sqq.* is noticeable. In both places we have a negative clause of frequency 'did not ever appear'... 'did not (ever) swallow him up.' The Greek use of the subjunctive in the passage of the *Odyssey* quoted above clearly corresponds. *infra*, *i.e.* at night when the sun was supposed to be below the earth.

67. *subdita* 'subjected to'; cf. *Prop.* 4. 11. 3 'cum semel *infernās intrarunt funera leges*.'

68. *magna deum proles*, virtually a translation of *θεῶν ἐρικυδέα τέκνα* which in *Od.* 11. 631 is applied to Theseus and



Pirithous, but here to their half-brother Minos. **deum.** He might have said *Iouis*, but he follows Homer in preferring the more general expression. **leuibus...umbris**, of the shadowy flitting ghosts, as in Ovid *Fast.* 5. 434. The phrase is differently used in 11. 26 **ius diceret** (Cr. App.). Here again the writer is reproducing Homer, *Od.* 11. 568 *sqq.* *ἐνθ' ἦτοι Μίνωα Φίδον Διδς ἀγλαὸν υἶδν | χρύσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα, θεμιστεύοντα νέκυσιν.*

69. **cita** 'rowed swiftly.'

70. **nantem** in a ship as Cat. 66. 46 'cumque iuuentus | per medium *classi* barbara *navit* Athon.' **geminae** 'between a boundary of death on either hand.'

71. **impetus** Scylla's 'swoop'. **ore**, a collective; cf. 2. 71. She had six *δειραὶ περιμήκεες* and a head on each neck, *Od.* 12. 90.

72. The order of the words is 'cum fera (*i.e.* Scylla) *serperet inter undas rabidas.*' **canibus** is an instr. abl. but its exact construction is not clear. Homer represents Scylla as hiding with her body under the rock and fishing for porpoises dogfish and large sea animals. The 'dogs' which according to later poets surrounded Scylla's waist are not in Homer.

73. The order of words is 'non consumpsit (eum) Charybdis uiolenta suo more,' 'in her own peculiar fashion.'

74 *sq.* **uel si = seu.** The repetition should be noted: it is not far off a jingle. Compare 19. 11 *sqq.* and 63 n. above. On the subjunctives see note on 66.

The meaning of the couplet is that the whirlpool first forces the sea to rise high in the air (*sublimis*) from its lowest depths (*fluctu imo*) and then sucking it in again causes a break in the deep water (*interrupto gurgite*) and exposes its bottom to view (*nudaret pontum*). For the last expression 'stripped the sea' compare Livy 26. 45. 8 'ad id quod sua sponte cedente in mari aestu trahebatur aqua, acer etiam septemtrio ortus inclinatum stagnum eodem quo aestus ferebat et adeo *nudauerat uada* ut alibi umbilico tenus aqua esset, alibi genua uix superaret.' Homer tells us that when Charybdis sucked in the water, the sand at the bottom appeared, *ὑπένερθε δὲ γαῖα φάνεσκε | ψάμμῳ κυανέῃ, Od.* 12. 242.

76. **uiolata...pascua.** The 'profaned pasturage of the Sun' is an allusion to the killing of the oxen of the Sun by Ulysses' sailors. **sileantur** 'cannot be buried in silence,'

*i.e.* by me. The use of the subjunctive is the same as in Virg. *G.* 2. 102 'non ego te, dis et mensis accepta secundis, | *transierim*, Rhodia.' It is practically equivalent to a future.

77. **fecunda.** Hermes, when sent by Zeus to bid Calypso let Ulysses go, admired the beauty of the place; cf. *Od.* 5. 75. **Atlantidos**; *Od.* 1. 52 'Ἀτλαντος θυγάτηρ.

78. Cf. Prop. 3. 12. 36 (at the end of a similar brief account of Ulysses' wanderings) 'errorisque sui sic statuisset modum.'

79. **haec...cognita** 'these adventures were experienced'. **nostras**, the world as known to the Romans. Compare the use of *nostrum mare* for the Mediterranean. For **inter** 'amidst,' 'among'; II. i. 67 'inter agros' (cf. 'inter arua' in the second of two Priapea sometimes ascribed to Tibullus, l. 16), 'inter siluas' Hor. *Ep.* 2. 2. 45. Compare also 13. 13.

80. 'Or story assigned a new world to these wanderings,' *i.e.* represented them as taking place in a new world. It was a moot point among ancient scholars whether Ulysses' wanderings were confined to these parts or whether he passed into the great Ocean beyond. Aulus Gellius *Noct. Att.* 14. 6. 3 'utrum ἐν τῇ ἔσω θαλάσῃ errauerit κατὰ Ἀρίσταρχον ἢ ἐν τῇ ἔξω κατὰ Κράτητα.'

81. **sit** 'may be,' concessive; to be supplied also after **dum**.

## 19

### [III. VIII. = IV. II.]

This elegant poem is an address to Sulpicia on the occasion of the Matronalia, for which see the introduction to 13. It forms the dedication of the Sulpicia Garland, Introd. p. xxxviii.

#### ARGUMENT.

Sulpicia is dressed for the Kalends of Mars. Look to thyself, great God of War: none can resist her charms. No other maid is worthy of the purples, the perfumes, and the jewels of the East (1–20). Sing her praise, Phœbus and ye Muses, and let the tribute be repeated in many years to come (21–end).

2. *tibi culta*; cf. 21. 3 *sq.*

3. *Venus*, who might naturally be jealous of Mars paying Sulpicia such a compliment. So Propertius praying Jupiter to save Cynthia says 2. 28. 33 '*hoc tibi uel poterit coniunx ignoscere Iuno.*' *ignoscēt* with the original length of the vowel; cf. 6. 13 n. and Horace quoted on 20. 11.

4. *Ov. Met.* 14. 350 '*obstipuit; cecidere manu quas legerat herbae.*'

5, 6. *exurere*, *i.e.* with love, a common metaphor. *acer Amor*, 12. 15 n.

7. *agit...mouit.* For the change of tense cf. *Virg. Aen.* 2. 12 '*quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit.*' *lampadas* = *faces*; cf. *Prop.* 2. 3. 12 '*non oculi, geminae, sidera nostra, faces.*'

8. *componit*, like a handmaid, arranging her mistress' dress. Compare a late Greek epigram *Anth. Pal.* V. 260. 7: *μορφὴν τριχθαδίην Χαρίτων τριάς ἀμφιπολεύει.* *furtim* 'unperceived,' without attracting attention; cf. *Quintilian* 1. 11. 19 '*unde nos non id agentes furtim decor ille discen-tibus traditus prosequatur*' which seems to be a reminiscence of the present passage. *furtim* goes with both verbs, which are in the order required by metre; cf. 2. 14 n.

9 *sqq.* 'However she dresses, she never fails to charm'; cf. *Plaut. Most.* (173) 1. 3. 17 '*Virtute formae id euenit te ut deceat quicquid habeas.*' For the use of *seu* and the arrangement of the clauses cf. 18. 45 note. Below the repetition of *seu* is almost a jingle.

10. *ueneranda* 'adorable.'

11. *palla*, the long garment worn by Roman ladies over the *stola*. It differed from the *palla* of musicians by having no sleeves, being fastened by clasps over the shoulders, and in not covering the feet.

13. *felix* 'blessed.' *Vertumnus*, the God of the changing seasons who was represented in all manner of dresses. Propertius has a poem on him, 4. 2.

16. *bis madefacta* (Gk. *δίβαφα*). These twicedyed stuffs were naturally more costly.

17. *metit* 'cuts,' *i.e.* 'harvests.'

18. *segetis*, *casia* and other spices. *diues.* The

Romans who spent enormous sums on the produce of Arabia naturally thought its inhabitants were fabulously rich; but they forgot how much went in the cost of transport.

19, 20. *gemmas...colligit* 15. 17.

22. For the words and construction cf. 20. 2. The Muses sing and Phoebus conducts.

23. *hoc...haec*. The repetition seems to be emphatic. *sacrum*, explained by the previous couplet. This offering of verse, says the poet, Sulpicia shall have 'for many years to come.' The word is often used in connexion with poetry. When Propertius says 4. 2. 1 '*sacra facit uates*' he means he is about to produce a poem.

## 20

[III. x. = IV. iv.]

A prayer to Phoebus, the god of healing, for the recovery of Sulpicia.

1. *morbos*; cf. 23. 3. *expelle* 'drive out' of the system; Hor. *Epist.* 2. 2. 137 '*expulit elleboro morbum bilemque meraco.*'

2. *intonsa...coma*; cf. 11. 121.

3. *crede mihi* 'listen to me.'

9. *sapores* 'distillations', 'essences'; cf. Virg. *G.* 4. 267 '*tunsum gallae admiscere saporem.*'

10. *fessa* 'sick', as *defessa* in 3. 9.

11. *fata* 'death', as Hor. *Carm.* 2. 13. 16 '*neque ultra | caeca timēt aliunde fata.*'

12. *lingueat*, 'subjunctive of quotation' N.L.P. 399.

14. Cf. 2. 52.

18. *tristior* 'vexed', 'angry'; cf. Prop. 1. 6. 9 '*illa minatur | quae solet ingrato tristis amica uiro.*'

20. *turba*, the crowd of Sulpicia's suitors. *sedet* 'sit', in the lady's presence or in her hall instead of going about their business; cf. Prop. 4. 5. 37, 8 '*supplex ille sedet; posita tu scribe cathedra | quidlibet.*'



19. *sq.* Cf. Prop. 2. 28. 41 *sq.* 'si non unius, quaeso miserere duorum; | uiuam si uiuet: si cadet illa, cadam.'

23. *debita* 'thy dues', the prayer having been granted.

24. *focis* 'altar fire,' a common use in poetry.

25. *pia turba deorum* 'all the good gods'; those gods who protect mankind.

## 21

[III. XII. = IV. VI.]

Sulpicia is sacrificing to her birth-spirit (*natalis Iuno*).

## ARGUMENT.

Birth-spirit of Sulpicia, accept her birthday offering. She has put on her best to-day, in thy honour she says; but—there is someone else (1—6). Bless both the lovers and smile upon their love (7—12). Come, purple-robed goddess, as she offers the cakes and wine, and grant the unspoken prayer of her heart that so when this day comes round again the love she longs for may have stood the test of time (13—20).

2. *docta*, as a poetess.

3. *lota* (Cr. App.). The bath was a necessary preliminary to taking part in a religious office: Livy 5. 22. 4 'delecti ex omni exercitu iuuenes *pure lautis* corporibus . . . uenerabundi templum iniere.' So Propertius in his poem on Cynthia's birthday does not forget this ceremony; 3. 10. 13 'ac primum *pura* somnum tibi discute *lympha*,' the prayer and sacrifice follows then in 17—20. *compsit*, cf. Introd. to 5.

4. *conspicienda*, cf. Tib. I. ii. 69 *sq.* 'totus et argento contextus totus et auro | insideat celeri *conspiciendus* equo.'

5. *relegat* 'imputes' or 'ascribes.' Sulpicia pretends that her elegant attire is merely a compliment to her Juno whose feast she is keeping. *relegare* is not usual in this sense in the Augustan writers, and elsewhere its construction is with *ad* and the acc., but *delegare* in the same sense occurs with the dat. as well as with *ad* and the acc.

8. *uincla*, cf. 8. 18.

9. **sic bene compones.** 'Thus will you have a good match', 'a well-matched pair'; so in the *Consolatio ad Liviam* (a poem written on the death of Drusus) 301 Drusus and Antonia his wife are called a '*par bene compositum.*' **ullae.** The poets occasionally form the dative of *ullus, unus, totus* by *o, ae*, instead of *i* (the pronominal ending), *e.g.* Prop. 1. 20. 35 '*nullae...curae.*' **non** negatives *ullae*, which it follows for reasons of metre.

11. **custos**, in whose charge it was usual for a young lady to be placed. **cupidos**, the passionate lovers, cf. 11. 54 n.

13. **perlucida**, might express either the 'transparency' or the 'brilliance' of the purple *palla*. The latter seems the more probable as the birth-spirit resembles Sulpicia in every possible way. **palla**, 19. 11 n.

14. **fit** 'sacrifice is offered,' the impersonal passive of 'facio' 'to sacrifice,' which takes an abl. of the thing with which we sacrifice, as Virg. *Ecl.* 3. 77 '*cum faciam vitula pro frugibus, ipse uenito*'; Plaut. *Stich.* 251 (l. 3. 97) '*quot agnis fecerat.*' **libo...mero**, 8. 8 n. This and the following four lines describe the scene at the sacrifice and the thoughts suggested by it.

15, 16. The mother has her own plans for her daughter's future and dictates to Sulpicia the prayer she is to put up. Sulpicia prays aloud as her mother directs, but under her breath asks for something quite different. **quod** 'the thing which,' not *quid*. The mother takes care that there shall be no mistake. **iam sua** 'now mistress of herself,' *i.e.* having a will of her own. **tacita...mente** 'in unspoken thought.'

17. **urunt.** Similarly of the cauldron in which Medea stewed her herbs Prop. 2. 1. 54 '*Colchis Iolchiacis urat athena focis.*'

18. **sana** 'free from love's fever,' 'heartwhole.'

19. **grata.** The sense is 'In gratitude for these gifts grant that their love may continue unbroken for another year.' For the appeal to the gratitude of the gods cf. I. ix. 83 sq. '*hanc tibi fallaci resolutus amore Tibullus | dedicat et grata sis, dea, mente, rogat.*'

20. **idem** 'unchanged.' **uotis adsit** 'may be present in answer to your prayer.' **iam uetus**, *i.e.* by this time of long standing.

## 22

[III. XIV. = IV. VIII.]

Sulpicia complains that she is forced to leave Rome and consequently cannot keep her birthday in the company of Cerinthus. We learn from another letter that the projected journey was abandoned and that Sulpicia was in Rome after all on the day (xv. 1, 2)

Scis iter ex animo sublatum triste puellae?  
natali Romae iam licet esse suo.

For so should we read in the pentameter for the *tuo* of the MSS. *meo* which some editors have gives the same sense, but is less probable.

4. *amnis*, apparently the Arnus (Arno) which flows within a few miles of Arretium in Etruria.

5. *nimium...studiose* 'too attentive.'

6. *uiae* gen. after *quiescas* 'cease from unseasonable travel,' *i.e.* give up the journey, an imitation of the Greek construction. But the text is uncertain; see the Cr. App.

8. *arbitrio...meo* 'at my own disposal', 'my own mistress.' *uis*, explained by *abducta*.

## 23

[III. XVII. = IV. XI.]

A little letter from Sulpicia, who is ill, to her lover.

1. *pia cura* 'loving thought.'

2. *fessa*, 20. 10 n. *calor* 'fever.'

4. The order of the words is: '*quam si putem te quoque uelle (me morbos euincere).*' *te* is placed before *si* for the sake of emphasis. For the perf. subj. see 4. 74 n.

6. *lento*, 12. 36 n.

## 24

[III. xviii. = IV. xii.]

Sulpicia apologizes to Cerinthus for leaving him the previous evening because she did not wish to betray her feelings.

1. *mea lux* 'light of my eyes.' This address is not found in Tibullus I., II. ; but the author of the Garland puts it in Sulpicia's mouth, III. ix. 15. *cura* of a person as in 9. 35.

5. For the position of *quam te* cf. 23. 4.

## 25

[III. xix. = IV. xiii.]

On this poem see also Introduction, pp. xliii., xlvi., and Appendix C.

1. The sense is 'I will not leave you for another woman' (cf. v. 3). But 'no woman will filch your love away from me' is not a natural way of expressing this. Contrast the passage of Propertius which appears to be imitated 1. 8. 45 '*nec mihi riualis certos subducit amores.*' *subducere* is not found elsewhere in Tibullus.

2. *primum* 'on the first occasion' 1. 39, 5. 35 n. *hoc foedere* 'with this pact,' i.e. of fidelity. The idea of *foedus*, a lover's compact, is found more fully developed in Prop. 3. 20. 15 *sqq.* '*foedera sunt ponenda prius signandaque iura | et scribenda mihi lex in amore nouo. | haec Amor ipse suo constringet pignora signo*': '*testis sidereae tota corona deae.*' *iuncta*, so *uenerem iungere* in I. ix. 76.

3. *tu mihi sola places.* These words which are found first in Prop. 2. 7. 19 '*tu mihi sola places; placeam tibi, Cynthia, solus*' are quoted by Ovid, *Ars Am.* 1. 42 in a reference to the present passage, Introd. p. xlvi.

4. *formosa...oculis...meis* is apparently an imitation of Prop. 4. 4. 32 '*et formosa oculis arma Sabina meis.*'



5. **atque utinam.** This phrase does not occur in Tibullus. Lygdamus has it once (17. 27), and it is very common in Propertius. **posses. possis** (Cr. App.) would be smoother. **bella uideri**, cf. Catull. 8. 16 'quis nunc te adibit? cui uideberis bella?' and Appendix C, p. 191.

6. **tutus ero**, cf. Prop. 2. 13. 14 'domina iudice tutus ero.'

7. The connexion of ideas seems to be 'I will not boast that you care only for me and so provoke envy.' **nil opus inuidia est** 'no need for envy to come here,' 'we can dispense with envy.' An uncomfortable use of the phrase, used aptly in 20. 17 which see. **gloria uulgi**, another uncomfortable expression. Tibullus does not use *vulgus*; for I. x. (6) 11 is corrupt.

8. Compare Prop. 2. 25. 29 sq. 'tu tamen interea, quamuis te diligit illa, | in tacito cohibe gaudia clausa sinu.' **in sinu gaudere** was a phrase of current speech: Cic. Tusc. Disp. 3 § 51 'ut in sinu gaudeant gloriose loqui desinant.' ille, see Cr. App.

9. **sic ego** carries on the *sic ego* of 6. **bene uiuere** 'live happily': cf. 2. 35 'quam bene Saturno uiuebant rege.' But the expression is infelicitous: compare Appendix C. **secretis** and **humano** are not used by Tibullus.

11. **curarum requies.** Hence Ovid, *Pont.* 3. 3. 7 'publica me requies curarum somnus habebat'; *Trist.* 4. 10. 117 sq. 'gratia, Musa, tibi; nam tu solacia praebeas, | tu curae requies, tu medicina uenis.' **uel** does not occur in the sense 'even' in Tibullus I., II. The order of words is *uel nocte atra*: the turn is prosaic.

12. **lumen.** A similar thought is poetically expressed by Propertius 4. 1. 143 'illius arbitrio noctem lucemque uidebis' and Hood 'The sun may set: but constant love Will shine when he's away, So that dull night is never night, And day is brighter day.' **in solis...locis** is a Propertian turn of language: see 1. 19. 8 'caecis | immemor esse locis,' 2. 28. 50 'pulchra sit in superis, si licet, una locis.' **turba.** 'Your presence peoples solitudes for me' appears to be the sense intended. Cf. Mart. 12. 21. 9 sq. 'tu desiderium dominae mihi mitius urbis | esse iubes: Romam tu mihi sola facis.' The thought is not unlike that in Prop. 1. 14. 36 'et quocumque uoles una sit ista tibi' and 1. 11. 23 'tu mihi sola domus tu, Cynthia, sola parentes, | omnia tu nostrae

tempora laetitiae.' This seems to be more probable than to take *tu* as 'the thought of you.'

13. The writer seems to be awkwardly imitating a beautiful distich of Tibullus 2. 89 *sq.* The idea of having a mistress sent down from heaven is used much more appropriately by Apuleius *Met.* 2. p. 23 '*licet illa caelo deiecta, mari edita, fluctibus educata, licet inquam Venus ipsa fuerit, placere non poterit nec Vulcano suo.*'

14. **uenus** 'the pleasure of love will fail.' This too is a weak variation of the idea in I. v. 39 *sq.* '*saepe aliam tenui; sed tum cum gaudia adirem, | admonuit dominae deseruitque Venus.*'

15. For the double acc. after *iuro* compare Virg. *Aen.* 12. 197 '*haec eadem, Aenea, terram mare sidera iuro.*' **Iunonis** the birth-spirit: see 5 introd. For this appeal to the beloved's *Genius* or *Iuno* cf. IV. v. (III. xi.) 7 *sq.* '*mutuus adsit amor, per te dulcissima furta | perque tuos oculos per Geniumque rogo.*'

16. For **magna** thus used with dat. we may compare Propertius 1. 11. 21 '*nam mihi non maior carae custodia matris.*' **sola ante alios**, a redundant expression of which there is no example in Tibullus.

17. **pignora** and **cedo** (act.) 'surrender my hostages' are not used elsewhere in Tibullus.

18. **proderat**, Propertius 2. 4. 19 '*hoc sensi prodesse magis: contemnite, amantes: | sic hodie ueniet si qua negauit heri.*'

20. **peperit** 'produced'; I. vi. 27 '*saepe mero somnum peperit tibi.*'

21. With **facias** the resemblance to Prop. 1. 15. 29–32 is considerable '*nulla prius uasto labentur flumina ponto | annus et inuersas duxerit ante uices | quam tua sub nostro mutetur pectore cura; | sis quodcumque uoles, non aliena tamen.*' The MSS have *faciam*. **tuus...manebo**, 2. 83 '*casta precor maneas.*'

22. **notae**. The thought is that of Prop. 1. 4. 3, 4 '*quid me non pateris uitae quodcumque sequetur, | hoc magis adueto ducere seruitio?*': the metaphor is that of 10. 1–4.

23. **uinctus** 'wearing my chains.' These are the invisible and impalpable chains of love; see 1. 55.

24. *notat* 'censures.' The metaphor is from the *nota censoria*. Tibullus uses the word quite differently in the other places where he has it. I. ix. 82 'Venerique merenti | fixa *notet* casus aurea palma meos.' For the parallels to this line in Tibullus see the Appendix.

## 26

[OVID, *Amores*, III. IX.]

An elegy on the death of Tibullus, B.C. 19. As was said in the Introduction, Ovid was at best barely acquainted with Tibullus, and this graceful tribute to his memory must not (as R. Ullrich has pointed out) be mistaken for a description of facts. Its purely literary and imaginative character is shown *inter alia* by the number of allusions to the two books of elegies which are introduced with Ovid's usual deftness. See notes on lines 8, 13, 17, 19, 33, 47, 52, 58.

1. Both the grief of Eos (Aurora) for her son Memnon, the Black King who came to help the Trojans and was killed by Achilles, and that of Thetis for the death of Achilles, who was killed by Paris, were subjects of the post-Homeric poets. Quintus Smyrnaeus, a late Greek epic writer, describes both, 2. 607 *sqq.*, 3. 606 *sqq.*

3. *elegiā* is the Augustan scansion of this word, *elegiā* the post-Augustan. *indignos* 'undeserving' of such treatment, 'innocent.'

4. Ovid alludes to the derivation of ἔλεγος from ἔλέγειν, 'to utter ἔ,' a cry of lamentation.

5. *tui operis*, love poetry. For the genitive after *uates* cf. Ov. *Met.* 11. 68 'amissoque dolens sacrorum uate suorum.' *tua fama*, of a person: 'your glory', as we say. So Euhadne, who threw herself on to the funeral pyre of her husband, Capaneus, is called by Propertius 'Argiuae fama pudicitiae' 1. 15. 22.

6. *inane* 'empty' *i.e.* 'lifeless,' 'a mere shell.' The fuller expression is 'corpus *inane animae*' *Met.* 2. 611 and elsewhere.

7. *euersam* 'overturned,' so scattering the arrows. There may be an allusion to the practice of carrying the *fascēs*

upside down as was done at the funerals of distinguished Romans, *e.g.* at those of Drusus and Germanicus (Tac. *Annals* 3. 2). So at Pallas' funeral (Virg. *Aen.* 11. 93) we have '*uersis Arcades armis.*' See also Cr. App.

8. Apparently an allusion to the second book of Tibullus II. vi. (12) 15 *sq.* Tibullus' prayer, suggests Ovid, has been answered, but, alas, not in the sense he intended.

10. *infesta manu*, *i.e.* violently.

13. *fratris Aeneae*, another allusion to the second book of Tibullus, v. 39 (=11. 39).

15. *confusa*, *συχυθείσα*, disordered by grief.

16. 'When the savage boar gashed her gallant's thigh.' The story is the subject of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*.

17. Compare Tibullus II. v. (11) 113 *sq.*

18. 'You will find some to think us actually divine.' For the subj. with *sunt qui* cf. N.L.P. 400 (c), R. 1686.

19. For this image compare 2. 4, 5.

21. *pater*, Oeagrus, a king of Thrace; *mater*, the muse Calliope. *Ismaros*, or *Ismara*, was a mountain in Thrace. *Orpheo*, the dat. of *Orpheus* according to the Latin declension, is scanned as a disyllable; cf. *alueo* 7. 49, *Typhōēō* Virgil, *Enīpēō* Propertius.

23. '*Linon...aelinon*' taken from the Gk. *Λίνον* αἶ *Λίνον*, the dirge for Linus. This 'Linos' and the legends about him are pure figments. They arose from a misunderstanding of the burthen or recurring wail of the dirge which the Greeks took from the Phoenicians, in Semitic *ai lenu* 'woe to us!'

25, 26. Homer is regarded as the fount of all poetic inspiration; cf. Manilius 2. 8-11: Pliny calls him '*fons ingeniorum* Homerus' *Nat. Hist.* 17. 37. The Pierian spring has been celebrated in all ages as inspiring those who drank of its waters with the poetic frenzy. Pope's couplet is well known:

A little learning is a dangerous thing;  
Drink deep or taste not the *Pierian spring*.

28. *effugiunt*. Compare *ex Ponto* 3. 2. 32 '*effugiunt structos nomen honorque rogos*'; also *Trist.* 3. 3. 60, 3. 7. 54, 4 10 86 (and Cr. App.)



29 sq. A poet's works last, as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* live.

30. **retexta**, an allusion to the subject of *Odyssey*, Penelope's faithful attachment to her husband and her device for eluding the suitors by picking to pieces at night the stuff she had woven in the day; cf. Prop. 2. 9. 3 sqq. 'Penelope potuit bis denos salua per annos | uiuere, tam multis femina digna procis: | coniugium falsa poterat differre Minerua, | nocturno soluens texta diurna dolo.'

31 sq. The sense is: Tibullus, like Homer, has left two works which will secure him immortality, *Delia* the first book of his elegies and *Nemesis* the second book.

33 sq. **uos** 'you,' *Delia* and Tibullus. The rest of the distich is an allusion to Tib. I. iii. (2.) 23 sqq.

35. **cum** 'whenever' with ind. N.L.P. 405, 408.

36. **sollicitor putare** 'I am impelled to think.' The inf. is poetical, (Lucretius, &c.).

40. Cf. 'iam cinis est et de tam magno restat Achille | nescio quid, paruam quod non bene compleat urnam' Ov. *Met.* 13. 610 sq.

43. The sense is: 'Such impious flames as these would have been capable of burning down the temples of the gods.' **sustinuere** 'had the heart for'; usually with an inf.

45. **Eryx**. Hence Venus is called *Erycina* by Horace and Ovid.

46. **negent** v. 18 and Crit. App. There is an allusion, as Mr. Carter thinks, to the belief that the gods might not shed tears. Ov. *Fast.* 4. 521 'neque enim lacrimare deorum est'; cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1396. For the ellipsis of *eam* cf. 2. 27 n.

47. An allusion to 3 (v. 3). In the next lines there are further allusions.

49. **madidos** 'moist,' 'swimming' (*natantes*). The medical writer, Celsus, mentions as a sign of imminent death 'si praeter haec oculi quoque lumen refugiunt et inlacrimant' (2. 6). **fugientis** 'failing,' 'dying': *ire* and *abire* are used in the same sense. Ovid has it of the 'flagging pulses' *ex Ponto* 3. 1. 69 'ad medicum specto uenis fugientibus aeger: | ultima pars animae dum mihi restat ades.'

50. The proper name for these gifts was *inferiae*.

52. **inornatas.** The word occurs only here and in the second book of Tibullus (9. 29 where it is an epithet of *caput*).

53. **prior** 'her predecessor,' *i.e.* Delia.

58. An allusion to 1. 60. Nemesis retorts that Delia has no right to share in her grief. She, and not Delia, was with Tibullus to the last.

59. **aliquid**, something more than a name (inscribed on a tomb) and a shade (*i.e.* a ghost). From this we see that the Romans did not consider ghosts to be realities, but that they would regard the dead in Elysium as such. **Elysia**, see 2. 57 *sqq.*

61. **iuuenalia.** Catullus also died young. **Caluo**, a poet of considerable powers and an intimate friend of Catullus, who addressed several poems to him.

63. **tu quoque.** Gallus was the oldest of the four elegiac poets. He was also a statesman and general of some consideration. He fell into displeasure with Augustus whose confidence he was accused of abusing, and, unable to bear the disgrace, committed suicide. Ovid says his offence was incautious language when in his cups 'et linguam nino non tenuisse mero,' *Trist.* 2. 446. **animae prodige.** Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1. 12. 37 '*animaeque magnae | prodigum* Paullum.'

66. **auxisti**, *i.e.* 'have joined'; cf. Ov. *Met.* 5. 301 '*auxerunt uolucrum, uictae certamine, turbam.*' **numeros pios** 'the band of the blest' = *numeros piorum*. **culte** 'refined.' Compare the Introduction, p. xxvi.

## 27

## [MARSII EPIGRAMMA].

The author of these lines is Domitius Marsus, a contemporary of Tibullus, who composed elegies and epigrams (one of which latter, a very bitter one on Baius and Meuius the detractors of Virgil, has come down to us), and also a not very successful epic poem on the Amazons, *Amazonis*, to which Horace in a well-known stanza of the Odes (4. 4. 18 *sqq.*) may perhaps allude. Martial mentions Marsus several times as one of his models.

From the abrupt beginning *te quoque* it has been thought

that the verses are a portion of a longer poem; but if so, they formed a section in themselves which could easily be detached.

1. **non aequa**, sc. *iniqua*.
2. **campos Elysios**, an apparent allusion to Tibullus 2. 58.
3. **elegis**, Tibullus' own word 10. 13. Compare Ovid 26.
- 3, 4. **fleret**, in a pregnant sense (*Tell me not in mournful numbers*, Longfellow); cf. Hor. *Epod.* 14. 11 '*causa testudine fleuit amorem*' (of Anacreon).
4. **forti**, a standing epithet of epic poetry. Hor. *Serm.* 1. 10. 43 '*forte epos acer | ut nemo Varius ducit.*'

## APPENDIX A

### WAS TIBULLUS THE *ALBIUS* OF HORACE?

The question 'Was the second name of the poet Tibullus *Albius*?' is not a simple one. It involves two others. Have the statements of the *Vita Tibulli* independent authority? and is Tibullus the same person as *Albius*, a writer of elegies to whom Horace addressed Odes I. 33 and Epistles I. 4? The unanimity of recent critics in answering *Yes* to all the three questions justifies a brief review of the evidence.

The direct testimony that *Albius* was a name of the poet is the following:

(1) a passage of Diomedes the grammarian *Testimony for  
the name  
Albius.*  
(p. 484 17 K.):

elegia est carmen compositum hexametro uersu pentametroque  
alternis in uicem positis ut

diuitias alius fuluo sibi congerat auro  
et teneat culti iugera multa soli

quod genus carminis praecepit scripserunt apud Romanos Propertius et Tibullus et Gallus imitati Graecos Callimachum et Euphorionem. elegia autem dicta siue *παρὰ τὸ εὖ λέγειν τοὺς τεθνεώτας*: fere enim defunctorum laudes hoc carmine comprehendebantur: siue *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλέου*, id est miseratione quod *θρήνους* Graeci uel *ἐλεεία* isto metro scriptitauerunt. cui opinioni consentire uidetur Horatius cum ad *Albium Tibullum* elegiarum auctorem scribens ab ea quam diximus miseratione elegos miserabiles dicit hoc modo:

neu miserabiles  
decantes elegos.

(2) The inscriptions which the manuscripts of Horace prefix to the ode, 'ad Tibullum' or 'ad *Albium Tibullum*,' with the note of the ancient commentator Porphyrio '*Albium Tibullum adloquitur elegiarum poetam*,' and those which they prefix to the epistle, 'ad *Albium Tibullum*' or 'ad *Albium* elegorum scriptorem': and

(3) the statement in the Life (Introduction p. xvi.).



The Horatian MSS. are hardly independent witnesses. Of the rest Diomedes lived in the fourth century A.D., Porphyrio in the same century or perhaps in the third. These writers may have identified Albius with Tibullus for themselves; but it is much more likely that they found him so identified by their predecessors. There remains the *Life*. Of its composition we know nothing actually, but from certain similarities in its diction to that of the extant works of Suetonius it has been conjectured that it contains extracts from a lost work of his.<sup>1</sup> The conjecture is not in itself an improbable one, as Suetonius is known to have interested himself in the lives of the distinguished writers of the Augustan period. And in order to shorten the discussion I will assume that it is correct. We may thus dismiss Diomedes and Porphyrio as the historian of the Caesars is a much older witness.

Now when Suetonius wrote, Tibullus had been dead for a century and more, and we do not know either that the material for a biography of the poet was appreciably greater than at present, or, if it was, that the biographer used it. It is therefore necessary to examine the *Life* itself before pronouncing on its credibility.

We have seen that Diomedes and Porphyrio identified Tibullus with Horace's Albius and we are entitled to say that the author of the *Life* did the same. Now, it is singular that there is nothing recorded in this 'biography' of our poet which may not have been based either on the extant epigram on his death or on allusions in his own poems or on the references in Horace to the person who was identified with him.

The Albius of Horace was a 'rich' man, Ep. l.c. 7 'di tibi diuitias dederunt', cf. v. 11. On the other hand Tibullus in the very first lines of his prefatory poem, I. i. 1—5, and throughout insists on his *paupertas*. This word is not the equivalent of the English *poverty*, but not the less is it the opposite of *diuitiae* and so it is used by Horace, Tibullus, and the rest of the Latin writers. So there is an apparent contradiction between Horace on Albius, and Tibullus on himself. The contradictory statements might be reconciled by supposing that Tibullus possessed the equestrian fortune; and the biographer says that he *was* an *eques*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bachrens *Tibullische Blätter*, pp. 4 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> On the corruption *regalis* see the Crit. App.

(2) Albius was a handsome man (Ep. i. 6 'di tibi *formam* —dederunt'). And the biography says Tibullus was 'insignis forma.'

(3) According to the biography our poet bestowed a noticeable amount of care upon his person. This might have been inferred from the words of Tibullus himself (Introduction p. xxiv.).

(4) So might his intimate friendship with Messalla (Introduction p. xix.).

(5) The statement that he served in the Aquitanian war where he shared Messalla's tent and that he was decorated for his services may be nothing more than an amplification of the words 'non sine me est tibi partus honos'<sup>1</sup> I. vii. 9, the obvious sense of which is that Tibullus as well as his friend distinguished himself in the operations of the war.

(6) That many thought him the chief elegiac poet of Rome was a matter of common knowledge.

(7) The remarks passed on his 'epistolae amatoriae' could have been made by any one who had seen Book III.

(8) His immature death is avowedly given on the authority of the epitaph by Marsus.

The statement that the poet's name was Albius differs in no way from the rest. If Tibullus and Horace's friend were identical, he must obviously have had this name. But if the statement goes back to some independent source, why, we may ask, are we ignorant of the poet's *praenomen*? How did this get separated from the rest of his appellations?

But the identification of 'Albius' and Tibullus may have been correct, even though the external evidence in its favour is lamentably weak, and this we now consider.

The first three books of the Odes of Horace were published in or about 23 B.C. and the first book of the Epistles in 20 or perhaps in 19 B.C. These dates may be accepted as well ascertained. Now by 23 B.C. probably and by 20 B.C. certainly Tibullus had published at least one of his two books of elegies and had achieved a reputation for elegy as high as that of Virgil for epos. His poems are with us and afford no uncertain indications of his circumstances, his health, his character, and his ideals. How far do these agree with what we know of Albius from Horace?

The portrait of Albius is distinct. It is that of a man

<sup>1</sup> Of course it does not follow that Tibullus wrote these words because the biographer found them in his text: see Crit. App. ad loc.

*Tibullus and  
the Albius of  
Horace's Ode  
and Epistle.*

blest with all the goods of the world, with the will and power to make the best of them (*artem—fruenti*). He lives in elegant style and his purse can stand the strain (*mundus victus non deficiente crumena*).<sup>1</sup> He has everything that heart can desire. He is handsome; he enjoys health, popularity, and reputation in abundance (*cui...gratia fama valetudo contingat abunde*). *Fama* Tibullus certainly had; *forma* he may have had. But what of the rest of the description? Have we here the Tibullus of straitened means, of rustic tastes, of retiring disposition, of feeble health? If Albius was Tibullus, Horace soon had leisure to muse on the infelicity of his description; for within a twelvemonth his friend had dropped into an early grave. Explanations (I do not mean evasions) of these difficulties may still be found; but up till now they have not. I will content myself here with putting the first puzzle of all. How has it come about that while Tibullus says of himself ‘*diuitias alius fuluo sibi congerat auro e.q.s. : me mea paupertas uita traducit inerti*,’ dwells on his ‘*felicis quondam nunc pauperis agri*’ in which ‘*nunc agna exigui est hostia parua soli*,’ Horace should have seriously addressed to him this flat contradiction ‘*di tibi diuitias dederunt*’?

The literary indications of identity are not more convincing than the personal. Beyond the fact that both men wrote *elegi* there is nothing to show that they are the same.

When Horace tells Albius not to be for ever descanting in pitiful elegy or asks him if he is writing something to surpass the minor compositions of Cassius of Parma, he is using a language and tone in perfect keeping if addressed to some rich literary amateur but a little surprising if employed

<sup>1</sup> This line is sometimes misunderstood through inattention to the meaning of *mundus*. The sense of *mundus* fluctuates of course with the context; but it is nearer to the English ‘smart’ than to the English ‘neat.’ And when Milton translated ‘*simplex munditiis*’ ‘plain in thy neatness’ (Hor. Od. 1. 5. 5) he was thinking rather of some dangerous Puritan beauty in snowy collar and cuffs than of the Pyrrha of Horace. Pyrrha was ‘plain in her finery’: but this same finery must have cost some one or other a pretty penny. Pliny explaining why the universe is called *mundus* Nat. Hist. 2 § 8 says ‘*quem κόσμον Graeci nomine ornamenti appellauere cum et nos a perfecta absolutaque elegantia mundum.*’ What it costs to attain ‘perfecta absolutaque elegantia’ in any department every connoisseur knows and will easily understand why Horace adds that Albius’ stylish living did not exhaust his resources. He was in happier case than the epicure of Juvenal 11. 38 ‘*quis enim te deficiente crumina | et crescente gula manet exitus aere paterno | ac rebus mersis in uentrem.*’ There, as here, *deficio* has its proper meaning of ‘running out.’



towards the acknowledged master of elegiac poetry at Rome. Cassius Parmensis is best known as an assassin of Julius Caesar. He was killed at Athens after the battle of Actium as we are told by 'Acro' a scholiast on Horace *l.c.* According to the same authority he was an Epicurean and a voluminous writer of tragedies; he wrote satires and dabbled in literature generally ('*aliquot generibus stilum exercuit*'). Amongst these works his elegies and epigrams are well spoken of ('*laudantur*'). Would the author of the first book of the Epistles have publicly asked the poet of *Delia* and *Nemesis* if he was engaged upon something that would surpass the minor productions of this Cassius Parmensis? If so, he would have told the late poet laureate at the end of his life that he might write something to excel the minor productions of Mr. Andrew Lang.

The *elegi* of Albius bemoaned the cruelty of a *Glycera*, who had jilted him for a younger rival. Critics now generally recognize that this *Glycera* can be neither *Delia* nor *Nemesis*.<sup>1</sup> It is the rivalry of wealthier, not of younger suitors, of which Tibullus complains. *Delia* and *Nemesis* were the names which he himself had chosen, and for others to change them would have been an absurdity or an impertinence. So a third mistress and a third series of love elegies have to be invented and fitted in where best they can: and ill enough at that. The *miserabiles elegi* are of course irrecoverable.

The slender grounds for the identification have now been exposed. But why was it ever made? It is not difficult to see. To identify the characters in Horace appears to have been a favourite literary pastime. His commentator Porphyrio refers at Sat. 1. 3. 21 and 91 to scholars *qui de personis Horatianis scripserunt*. Now Albius is the only one among his contemporaries whom he speaks of as a writer of elegies, and it was tempting to guess that he was the chief.

The inference was, it is true, unwarrantable. Elegy was then a fashionable form of literature; many published, more produced it, and of all the elegists what have we remaining? Names and fragments or not even this. And why not so with Albius? Why again should Horace have alluded to

<sup>1</sup> The late Prof. Sellar, *Horace and the Elegiac Poets*, p. 226, thought that Horace chose the name *immitis Glyceræ* 'the ungentle sweet one' because of 'his partiality for the figure oxymoron.' This is a good reason for employing the epithet *immitis*, but a poor one for altering the proper name.



Tibullus' poetry at all? Virgil was his dear friend and benefactor and is frequently mentioned by name in his works. But if we knew only what Horace tells us, we should imagine that it was Varius, not Virgil, who was the great epic writer of Rome.

## APPENDIX B

### THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS AND RESPONSES<sup>1</sup>

There is nothing in the meaning or history of the name Sibyl, Greek *Σιβυλλα*, to limit its employment to a single person. Accordingly Greek writers sometimes use it in the plural, and we find Tacitus, *Annals* 6. 12, and St. Augustine raising the question whether there was one Sibyl or several. The great Roman antiquary Varro, whom Lactantius, in citing his opinion, calls the most learned of all the Greek, to say nothing of the Roman writers, enumerated as many as ten: 1 the *Persian*, 2 the *Libyan*, 3 the *Delphian*, 4 the *Cimmerian*, 5 the *Erythraean*, 6 the *Samian*, 7 the *Cumaeian*, 8 the *Hellespontine*, 9 the *Phrygian*, 10 the *Tiburtine*, adding a reference to the author who mentioned each.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following account is designed to help the student of Tibullus. It does not of course pretend to be complete.

<sup>2</sup> See Lactantius I. ch. 6, from whose account the following extracts are taken: (on the Cumaeian Sibyl) 'septimam Cumanam nomine Amaltheam quae ab aliis Herophile uel Demophile nominatur eamque nouem libros attulisse ad regem Tarquinium Priscum.—(On the second collection of Sibylline books) quorum postea numerus sit auctus Capitolio reffecto quod ex omnibus ciuitatibus et Italicis et Graecis et praecipue Erythraeis coacti adlatique sunt Romam cuiuscumque Sibyllae nomine fuerunt.—(The Tiburtine Sibyl) decimam Tiburtem nomine Albuneam quae Tiburi colatur ut dea iuxta ripas amnis Anienis, cuius in gurgite simulacrum eius inuentum esse dicitur tenens in manu librum [cuius sortes senatus in Capitolium transtulerit].

harum omnium Sibyllarum carmina et feruntur et habentur praeterquam Cumaeae cuius libri a Romanis occultantur nec eos ab ullo nisi a XV uiris inspicere fas habent. et sunt singularum singuli libri qui quia Sibyllae nomine inscribuntur unius esse creduntur suntque confusi, nec discerni ac suum cuique adsignari potest nisi Erythraeae quae et nomen suum uerum carmine indicat et Erythraeam se nominatuiiri (i.e. nominatum iri) praecocuta est cum esset orta Babylone.—

omnes igitur hae Sibyllae unum deum praedicant. (The Erythraean Sibyl and the second collection) maxime uero Erythraea quae celebrior

At Rome the history of the Sibylline books itself brought this doubt into prominence. As is well known, the original three books which, according to the legend, were bought by King Tarquin, and, according to Varro (*l.c.*), contained the prophecies of the Sibyl of Cumae were destroyed when the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus, beneath which they were kept,<sup>1</sup> was burnt down in the year 83 B.C.

*Libri Sibyllini.*  
*The original*  
*and the later*  
*collection.*

When Sulla had established himself at Rome he set to work to replace the loss and, as we know from Tacitus *l.c.*<sup>2</sup> and other writers, commissioners were sent to a number of places in Greece, Asia Minor (Samos, Ilium, and Erythrae are specially mentioned), Sicily, and elsewhere to gather oracles to form a new collection. These Sibylline oracles were deposited in the restored temple, and the same authority and veneration claimed for them as for the old. What the Romans conceived to be the precise connexion of the local Sibyls with the original 'Tarquinian' Sibyl, we do not know. One and the same Sibyl might be supposed to have wandered through the world uttering oracles in different places: or they may have thought that her prophetic power was transmitted to others as Elijah's to Elisha. It was enough for them if *the inspiration of the oracles, new and old, was the same.*

The Sibylline books were removed to the temple of Apollo on the Palatine by Augustus; but it is not quite certain when. The words of Suetonius, *Aug.* 31,<sup>3</sup> that he placed

inter ceteras ac nobilior habetur, siquidem Fenestella, diligentissimus scriptor, de XV uiris ait restituto Capitolio rettulisse ad senatum C. Curionem cos. ut legati Erythras mitterentur qui carmina Sibyllae conquisita Romam deportarent; itaque missos esse P. Gabinium, M. Otacilium, L. Valerium qui descriptos a priuatis uersus circa mille Romam deportarunt.'

<sup>1</sup> The statement of Seruius, the commentator on Virgil (*Aen.* vi. 36, also 72 and 321), that they were placed in the temple of Apollo on the Capitol appears to be due to some confusion. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says in the most precise way that they were kept under the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in a stone box below the ground.

<sup>2</sup> 'Quod a maioribus decretum erat post exustum Sociali bello Capitolium quaesitis Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam ac Siciliam et Italicas colonias carminibus Sibyllae, una seu plures fuere, datoque sacerdotibus negotio, quantum humana ope potuissent, uera discernere' (the whole chapter should be read). See also Varro ap. Lact. already quoted.

<sup>3</sup> 'quicquid fatidicorum librorum Graeci Latiniue generis nullis uel parum idoneis auctoribus uulgo ferebantur supra duo milia contracta undique, ac solos retinuit Sibyllinos, hos quoque delecta habito condiditque duobus forulis auratis sub Apollinis Palatini basi.'

them in two gilded lockers under the base of the Palatine Apollo might very well imply that this was done at the time of the removal; but the inference is not a necessary one. On the other hand the numerous and pointed references to Apollo in Tibullus' poem and in particular that in the very first line 'Phoebe, faue: nouus *ingreditur tua templa sacerdos*' coupled with the remarkable agreement in the details of the poet's description and of the well known Palatine representation of the God make it at the least not improbable that the books had been already placed in the temple when Tibullus wrote. At any rate they were in the Palatine temple from B.C. 12 onwards; for this was the year when Augustus succeeded Lepidus as Pontifex Maximus and in that capacity made the revision to which Suetonius refers.

The Sibylline books were written in the Greek tongue and in hexameter verse, so far at least as the earlier collection went, and age and neglect must have made them difficult to decipher. But this is not the meaning of the significant words in Tibullus' prayer to Phoebus that the god will allow Messalinus to touch the sacred pages and to impart to him the sense of the Sibyl's verses; nor was it the reason why Roman law surrounded the consultation of the *libri Sibyllini* with so many restrictions and so much solemn ritual.<sup>1</sup>

The truth is that, except in a very artificial sense, the oracles published and passing as Sibylline were not the Sibyl's at all. How far this was known outside the college we cannot say; but it is shown by the fact, with which the ancients were well acquainted, that the authentic, that is to say, the official Sibylline oracles were written in

*Sibylline Responses in Acrostichs.*

*Meaning of this.*

*acrostichs*. This means that the first letters of the lines published as the Sibyl's response taken in order made a metre and sense of their own. We know this from Cic. *De Divinatione* 2. § 111 and from Dionysius of Halicarnassus (4. 62 *fin.*) who tells us, upon the authority of Varro, that among the genuine Sibylline oracles were found spurious ones which could be detected by applying this test (*ἐν οἷς εὐρίσκονται τινες ἐμπεποιημένοι τοῖς Σιβυλλεῖσι, ἐλέγχονται δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις ἀκροστιχίσι*). Cicero justly infers from the artificial character of a 'response' that it is not really the work of an inspired person: 'non esse autem illud carmen furentis cum

<sup>1</sup> For a full description of these solemnities see Vopiscus in the passage cited below, p. 190.



ipsum poema declarat (est enim magis artis et diligentiae quam incitationis et furoris), tum uero ea quae ἀκροστιχίς dicitur cum deinceps ex primis uersus litteris aliquid conec-titur.' Cicero's and Dionysius' statements are confirmed by the form of a 'genuine' Sibylline response referred to below.

When now the Senate had decreed that the Sibylline books should be consulted, they were dug up out of their resting place and a few words were taken at hazard. The passage thus arrived at was next made applicable to the circumstances. Its separate letters were made the initial letters of the lines of the new response and the rest of the lines filled up in accordance with the requirements of the occasion.

This it may be said was a gross deception. No doubt it seems so to us. But those who carried it out believed themselves to be at the time under the influence of divine inspiration; and the annals of priestcraft abound with similar examples of pious and in a sense honest fraud.

A very large number of so-called Sibylline Oracles have been preserved; but hardly any can claim the honour of having been put forth by the sacred college as the utterances of the Sibyl to Rome. The purport and contents of the latter have to be gathered almost exclusively from the references to them in the historians. From these we learn first the occasions upon which the books were consulted and secondly what was done after the consultations. The consultation of the books (*adire Sibyllinos libros*) was not allowed except for reasons of great gravity, to wit, civil strife, national disaster, and portents of a serious character<sup>1</sup> or a disquieting frequency, which had been formally reported to the officers of state, *publice nuntiata*; see Dionys. Hal. 4. 62. § 5. Livy 22. 9. § 7 *sqq.* and elsewhere. A resolution of the Senate was still required before the college could consult the books. The published response would contain a prediction of the calamity or prodigy and directions for its removal or expiation; and this is why the college was called *XVviri sacris faciundis*.

The above remarks are borne out by the tenour of the Sibylline response (preserved by a writer on marvels, Phlegon *de mirabilibus* c. 10), which is said to have been given in 125

*Regulations governing the consultation of the Books.*

<sup>1</sup> *tætra prodigia* is Livy's description. For the second class see a place of the historian quoted on 11. 79.

B.C., but which is referred by C. Alexandre to 347 B.C.<sup>1</sup> This response consists of 70 hexameters whose initial letters make the following imperfect lines :

· · · · · οἱ ρ' ἀνόπισθ' ὁμαφυπας  
εἰς τόπον ἔλθ' ἵππῳ ἀγαλλόμενος πάλιν αὐκον  
εἴσενονηξείαιντα.

They clearly indicate how difficult it was to read the Sibylline writing.

The first two lines and a half of this response are an assertion of the Sibyl's prophetic character. The next two and a half predict the prodigy, in this case a monstrous birth. The rest of the response gives in detail the rites and ceremonies to be instituted for the purpose of propitiating the gods.

The same Phlegon in his book on long-lived persons<sup>2</sup> has preserved the text of another Sibylline oracle, which seems to be genuine although apparently not satisfying the acrostich test.

It was obtained before the celebration of the famous *ludi saeculares* which were solemnized by Augustus in B.C. 17 and for which Horace composed the *Carmen Saeculare*.

It is not easy to exaggerate the importance of the Sibylline books in the early history of Rome. That they were a most potent factor in modifying the ancient Roman ritual and religion and assimilating it to the Greek, is a well-recognized fact which need not be dwelt on here. We see this even from the terms of the oracle just referred to, which prescribes in v. 16 that the sacrifice to Demeter (Ceres) is to be conducted in the *Greek fashion* Ἀχαιοὶ τὰδ' ἔρδειν. Their influence seems to have declined somewhat after the time of Sulla ; but it was revived by the measures of Augustus, and the books were consulted on various occasions of national danger down to the latest times. Their destruction in fact preceded by a very little the fall of the Roman empire itself. For it was between the years 404 and 408 that they were committed to the flames by the order of the emperor Honorius or of his great minister Stilicho, for what precise reason we do not know. Rutilius Namatianus accuses his enemy

*Influence of the  
Sibylline Books  
upon Roman  
History.*

<sup>1</sup> Oracula Sibyllina II. p. 236. For the text of this response see *ib.* p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> *Makrob.* 5, followed by the late historian Zosimus (II. 15, a passage printed in extenso in Orelli's edition of Horace).

Stilicho of the crime (*Sibyllinae fata cremauit opis*, de redivit II. 52), but only after Stilicho's disgrace and death.

One of the most noteworthy among the later occasions when their prophetic guidance was sought was during the reign of Aurelian when the Alemanni or Marcomanni had broken into Italy and were threatening Rome, 270-271. The Emperor's letter recommending the consultation of the books, the deliberations of the Senate and the ceremonies used in the consultation are given at length by his biographer Vopiscus, chaps. 18-20. Compare Gibbon *Decline and Fall*, (ed. Bury) I. p. 298.

The various legends connected with the 'Sibyl' are a fascinating subject for inquiry; but one that lies beyond our province here. Still two or three of the more curious may be given. Her great age was proverbial, and Σιβύλλης ἀρχαίότερος was a proverb. Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 14. 152 *sqq.*) makes the Cumaeen Sibyl say she has lived 700 years, but has 300 more to live, and that at last she will pass into an 'invisible voice,' 'nullique uidenda | uoce tamen noscar: uocem mihi fata relinquent.' Trimalchio, the vulgar millionaire of Petronius, says that when he was a boy he saw with his own eyes the Sibyl suspended in a bottle (ampulla) and that when the children asked 'What do you want, Sibyl?' she replied 'I want to die,' ἀποθανεῖν θέλω.<sup>1</sup> Plutarch records a saying that she was the Woman in the Moon, and prophesied in a shrill voice as she was carried round on its disk, *de sera numinis uindicta*, c. 22, p. 566 D.

One of the most remarkable features in her history was her adoption by the Fathers of the Christian Church, who regarded her as truly inspired and placed her on a par with the prophetic personages of the Jewish dispensation. Hence we read in the well-known hymn:

Dies irae, dies illa,  
Soluēt saeculum in fauilla  
Teste *Dauid cum Sibylla*.

*Some Legends  
of the Sibyl.*

*The Christian  
'Sibylline Ora-  
cles'.*

Owing to this a great mass of spurious Sibylline literature came into being, including the bulk of the so-called Sibylline oracles, fourteen books of Greek hexameters. Whether any genuine utterances of the pagan Sibyls are imbedded in the mass is a matter which is very hard to determine.

<sup>1</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 48. The showman of this ancient Oboth or 'bottle imp' was no doubt a ventriloquist.

## APPENDIX C

### ON III. XIX. (IV. XIII.)

In the *Journal of Philology* for 1880 (vol. ix. pp. 280-285) I maintained, as I then believed, for the first time the spuriousness of this poem. But I have since learned that H. Fritzsche propounded a similar view in a Halle dissertation of 1875.<sup>1</sup> The hardy theory naturally provoked dissent : and amongst those most forward to expose the heresy may be mentioned the names of H. Magnus,<sup>2</sup> F. Hennig, and H. Belling.

The discovery of fresh facts and the consideration of the opposing arguments have not, it is true, removed my original impression ; but they have made me feel that the previous discussion is not now an adequate presentation of the case. And for these reasons as well as because a problem in literary criticism admitting of discussion within a moderate compass is somewhat of a rarity, I take this opportunity after an interval of more than twenty years of stating anew the grounds upon which I find it hard to believe that this piece is the genuine work of Tibullus.

The internal aspect of the question claims our consideration first.

The most searching tests which can be applied in examining a work whose genuineness has been challenged are naturally those of the statistical method. The present poem however with its

*Statistical method inapplicable.*

<sup>1</sup> *Quaestiones Tibullianae* p. 1 'Nam non diu latere potuit carmina, quae in codicibus scripta sunt, tantum inter se discrepare ut ab uno poeta profecta esse nequeant ; ac librum quidem tertium et quarti elegias l. 8-12 nunc plerique a Tibullo abiudicant ; de IV, 13. 14 *alii aliter sentiunt*, verisimile tamen est haec quoque carmina alii Augustae aetatis poetae tribuenda esse.' The words which I have placed in italics seem to warrant the inference that Fritzsche was not alone in his opinion.

<sup>2</sup> In the report on the literature of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius. *Jahresbericht* 1887 p. 359.



12 hexameters and 12 pentameters only, is too short to admit of these being applied with profit, either to its metre or its language. We are thus left to our general impression, which must be checked by careful scrutiny and analysis of the separate judgments that compose it.

We notice at once a contrast to the Garland. Whether the workmanship there is that of Tibullus we have seen, Introduction pp. xxxix. sqq., to be legitimate matter for inquiry, but that it would do him no discredit is beyond dispute. In this piece on the contrary it appears to be both different and inferior to that of the admittedly genuine books, I. and II. Difference and inferiority are, as a matter of fact, two separate questions; but in a detailed discussion it is impossible to keep them apart.

Of the precise inferiority each reader must judge for himself. But a brief reference to published opinions may be permitted. It does not seem likely *Opinions on its intrinsic merit.* that many scholars will adopt henceforth the strong expressions of Dissen, who by the way believed that Sulpicia's little love poems were written by Tibullus, or of Baehrens that the poem bears everywhere the stamp of its reputed author's poetic art.<sup>1</sup> Dr. F. Hennig indeed quotes Professor Schanz as saying that it is a marvellous elegy,<sup>2</sup> but Professor Schanz believes also that Ovid wrote the *Haliutica*. Prof. R. Y. Sellar wrote of the piece 'None of these' (*i.e.* xix, xx and the two *Priapea* sometimes attributed to Tibullus) in any way add to his reputation, and the first, in which contrary to the practice of the real Tibullus, the writer speaks of himself by name is, as Mr. Postgate has shown, almost certainly a forgery. Some of the lines, as noticed by Dissen, are not without power and beauty; but after the elegies of Tibullus and Propertius had taught the secret, any one would catch the trick of writing a few lines in elegiac tones. If the lines can be supposed to have

<sup>1</sup> Quid intersit aliorum aliquis an suos amores canat, clarissime hoc carmen docet comparatum cum antecedentibus. Suavia illa sunt et venusta eleganterque composita ut vidimus, ac habet magnum ardorem Sulpiciae affectus, sed tamen abest proprius ille Tibullo insignis vigor affectuum qui in primo et secundo libro conspicuus nunc tota cum vi sua in hoc carmine redit (Dissen, p. 459). — Baehrens, *Tibullische Bl.* p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *Untersuchung zu Tibull.* (Wittenberg 1895) p. 16 'Auch Schanz nennt IV. 13 "eine wundervolle Elegie" die man ebenso wie das folgende Doppeldistichon dem Tibull beilegen müsse.' This extravagance does not appear in the *History of Roman Literature* (ed. 2).

been some composition of Tibullus, written in a careless or conventional mood—and either mood seems incompatible with all we know of him—which accidentally got preserved among other poems written by members of the circle, he certainly attached no importance to them or they would have found a place in the two books which he and he only could have written' *Horace and the Elegiac Poets* (p. 259). Dr. Marx, though assigning xix with xx to Tibullus, takes a hardly higher estimate of its value (see below).

Some of its defenders have urged the excellence of certain lines, notably the couplet 11 *sq.*, the latter part of which I admitted in my article to be better than the rest. But the argument from two or three lines is, as Sellar saw, an unsafe one. Lygdamus has good lines occasionally, Introduction p. xliii; and the teachers at English Universities, who have practical experience of imitations of classical models, know very well that one or two good lines may be found in an otherwise poor composition. *μία χελιδὼν ἔαρ οὐ ποιεῖ.*

Sooner than press the case against the authorship of the poem unfairly, I have put into the text two improvements which cannot be considered absolutely certain; *mihi* in 16 and *facias* in 20. If any reader rejects them, then he must observe that 16 with *tibi* is a poor amplification of the preceding, and *iam faciam quodcumque uoles* a weak anticipation of the following clause. But even with the amendments, v. 16 is wordy (contrast the simplicity of II. vi. 31 'illa mihi sancta est') and v. 21 prosaic.

Throughout the poem the thought or, what is not less noteworthy, the turn of the thought is either trivial or else different from what we look for in Tibullus. Protestations of fidelity are part of the common stock of love poetry and not foreign to Tibullus; but where in him do we find the smugly complacent tone of verses 1—4? To be in solitude, save for the presence of the loved one, is a pleasant idea to him as to others before and since. But where would he seek it? Not in the remote and trackless bush (9, 10), but in the regions where vines are planted, fields are sown, and oxen feeding; I. ii. 71 *sqq.*, v. 19 *sqq.*). How far again is the cold reflexion and the calculating egotism of 9 *sq.* from the self-effacing, self-sacrificing spirit of Tibullus! The prudential considerations of this distich and of 17 *sq.* are alien to the poet who wrote to the grasping and unfaithful Nemesis 'non ego sum tanti

*Differences  
from Tibullus  
(i) in thought  
or Sentiment.*

ploret ut illa semel.' Where in the whole of books I and II does it occur to Tibullus that it will be 'useful' if his mistress realizes that there are 'other women' in the world? But in the very first line of xix. we have this suggestion and it crops up again and again.

The differences between the vocabulary of our author and of Tibullus are duly noted in the commentary; but for my part I lay no special stress upon them. I think it much more important to observe that its coincidences show nothing that is characteristic of the poet. I will give a few illustrations.

*bene uiuere*: Tibullus I. iii. 35 sq. 'quam bene uiuebant Saturno rege priusquam | tellus in longas est patefacta uias!': xix 'sic ego secretis possum bene uiuere siluis.'

[No injury would be done to the author of xix if his *bene uiuere* were printed in inverted commas. There is as much feeling in it as in the well known tag 'and so they lived happily ever afterwards.']

*fortis* and *audacia*: Tibullus I. iv. 13 'hic, quia fortis adest audacia, cepit,' II. vi. 11 sq. 'magna loquor sed magnifice mihi magna locuto | excutiunt clausae fortia uerba fores': xix 'nunc tu fortis eris, nunc tu me audacius ures.'

*garrulus*: Tibullus I. v. 25 sq. 'consuescet amantis | garrulus in dominae ludere uerna sinu,' II. v. 30 'garrula siluestri fistula sacra deo': xix 'garrula lingua.'

*seruitium*: compare Tibullus II. iv. (10) 1-4 and xix 'nec fugiam notae seruitium dominae' with its prosaic *notae*.

*stulte*: Tibullus I. ix. 45 'tū miser interii stulte confisus amari'<sup>1</sup>; xix 'iuraui stulte; proderat iste timor.'

*iniustus*: Tibullus I. v. 57 'eueniet; dat signa deus: sunt numina amanti | saeuit et iniusta lege relictā Venus': xix. 'haec (Venus) notat iniustos.'

*supplex—fauere*: Tibullus I. iv. 72 'blanditiis uult esse locum Venus ipsa; querelis | supplicibus, miseris fletibus illa fauet': xix 'haec notat iniustos supplicibusque fauet.'

In the case of all these words, as used by Tibullus, there is something either in the employment of the words themselves or in their environment to redeem them from the commonplace—some note of distinction for which it is vain to look in xix.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *Amori* should be read; cf. Prop. II. 34. 1.



This list might be enlarged by the inclusion of other words, such as *demens* Tib. I. v. 20, ix. 78 ; but I am anxious not to press the evidence unduly<sup>1</sup>; and Hiller's excellent *index uerborum* will enable anyone to pursue the investigation for himself.

Verse 5 'atque utinam posses uni mihi bella videri' raises an interesting point. *bellus* and *formosus* are by no means synonymous as the correspondence in the two couplets 'mihi places—formosa oculis meis : uni mihi bella—displiceas aliis' would show them to be here. They belong to different styles, here tastelessly blended. *bellus* 'pretty,' 'fine' was a word of ordinary life. You will find it of course in Catullus and Petronius, and sometimes in the Satires of Horace; but serious poetry avoided it. Virgil does not use it, nor even the more dignified elegiac writers. Propertius and Ovid have instead *formosus* 'beautiful,' except (Ovid once) in the fixed and jingling collocation 'bella puella' Am. 1. 9. 6. Tibullus' usage is similar. He uses *bellus* only once, in I. ix. 71 'non tibi sed cuidam iuueni vult *bella videri*' where the employment of the common word is intentional and in keeping with the slighting tone of the context. Contrast Prop. 2. 11. 17 'deme : mihi per te poteris *formosa videri*.'

My German critics were astonished that I should find fault with 13 sq. In the passage of Tibullus which I contrasted with this, the poet says that often he sought consolation for the absence of Delia in the company of other women; but there was no pleasure therein: 'admonuit dominae deseruitque Venus' (I. v. 40). Now it is one thing to recount this as an experience, but quite another to tell it to his mistress as something that will happen if he is tempted to desert her. This question with the flatness of the whole pentameter I leave to the feeling of the unprejudiced reader. The hexameter seemed, and seems, to me to be nothing but a frigid and tasteless hyperbole not likely to have occurred to the simple, pious-minded Tibullus, and markedly different from the beautiful image, which I believe suggested it.

To our list of infelicities may be added those already touched on in the notes on 1, 7, and 11 (uel), this last even in the best couplet of all upon which my critics dissolve in admiration.

<sup>1</sup> Hence I will not urge that 'parere malum' (20 n.) is nearer to common parlance than 'parere somnum.'



Before proceeding I would draw attention to what is by no means a fault, the absence from this poem of two characteristic features of Tibullus' writing, the displaced *que* (Introd. p. xxix), and the mechanical repetitions which impart to his work its peculiar monotony (*ib.* p. xxviii). Of these latter it appears to furnish no example unless *sanctae* in v. 23 be a mere echo of *sancta* in v. 15. Intentional repetitions of course do not count.

*Absence of  
displaced  
que and of  
Mechanical  
Repetitions.*

In my previous discussion I referred to certain agreements in thought and expression between this piece and various poems of Propertius. It has been alleged that these are accidental. The reader has them before him in the notes on lines 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 18, 21 and can judge for himself whether the resemblances *taken as a whole* are or are not too close and too frequent to be due to accident.<sup>1</sup> Others have urged that similar coincidences are observable in undoubtedly genuine poems of Tibullus; compare Introd. p. xxv. It may be replied to this as to the previous objection, that number and closeness must be taken into account. But it is more important to observe that in the genuine poems, Tibullus, whether he is to be regarded as reproducing Propertius or not, always shows distinctive touches by which his hand may be recognized.

*Agreements  
with  
Propertius.*

So in Tibullus I. ii. 27 *sq.*

nec sinit occurrat quisquam qui corpora ferro  
uulneret aut rapta praemia ueste petat.  
quisquis amore tenetur eat tutusque sacerque  
qualibet: insidias non timuisse decet.

compared with Propertius III. 16. 11. *sq.*

nec tamen est quisquam sacros qui laedat amantis;  
Scironis media sic licet ire uia.  
quisquis amator erit, Scythicis licet ambulet oris,  
nemo adeo ut noceat barbarus esse uolet.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Magnus, who holds this view, maintains that *tu mihi sola places* is a mere equivalent of *Ich liebe dich* or *I love you*. But this it is not, and never will be, until three words are the same as four, and a clear half-verse the same as a fragment of prose. His reference to A. Zingerle's useful collection is quite insufficient to show that *tu mihi sola places* was a regular elegiac tag ('eine fast stereotype Formel,' Ovidius, &c., i. p. 103). Three examples of the phrase are given there. One of them we have seen (Introd. p. xlviii) to be a clear quotation of the present passage, the other two are this passage and the passage whose relation to it is the very matter in dispute!

The thought is the same in both ; but the individuality of Tibullus no less than the individuality of Propertius is apparent in its expression.

Or compare again Propertius and a poet, who may, as many think, be Tibullus.

### III. viii. 9-12.

seu soluit crines, fuis decet esse capillis :  
 seu compsit, comptis est ueneranda comis.  
 urit, seu Tyria uoluit procedere palla :  
 urit, seu niuea candida ueste uenit.

### Propertius II. 1. 5-8.

siue illam Cois fulgentem incedere coccis,  
 hoc totum e Coa ueste uolumen erit,  
 seu uidi ad frontem sparsos errare capillos,  
 gaudet laudatis ire superba comis.

Here too is unmistakable similarity, and individuality as unmistakable. It matters little which poet was first ; for his successor has so treated the common theme as to make it his own. But compare our author with an undeniable poet and he shows to disadvantage, whichever is the imitator. Propertius has 'tu mihi sola places ; *placeam tibi*, Cynthia, *solus*.' Our author goes a step further in '*displaceas aliis*,' unfortunately a step too far. On the other hand contrast his jejune 'iam licet e caelo mittatur amica Tibullo' with Ovid's brilliant recasting of the same idea (Introd. p. xlviii).

The external aspect of the problem may be more briefly treated. The piece forms part of a collection which, apart from it, contains nothing avowedly, and nothing certainly, from the pen of Tibullus.

*The External  
Evidence.*

All then turns on the weight we should give to the ascription in v. 13. The obtrusion of the writer's name is unlike Tibullus, natural as it might be to the self-conscious Propertius (see 2. 34. 93, 3 (4). 10. 15). Tibullus has it only where it is demanded by custom, in an epitaph and in a votive inscription (I. iii. 55 *sq.* and ix. 83 *sq.*). The latter passage 'hanc tibi fallaci resolutus | amore | Tibullus dedicat et grata sis, dea, mente rogat' with its succession of two weak caesuras unique in Tibullus may, as suggested elsewhere, have served as the model for the present line 'nam licet e caelo mittatur | amica | Tibullo.' Such an ascription may be called a presumption of genuineness ; but by itself it is not a proof. The device of inserting into a composition the name of the

writer to whom it is to be attributed is a tolerably obvious one.

The patrons of the poem are in difficulties when they attempt to bring it into relation with the rest of Tibullus' work. Who was the nameless *femina*? Delia, Nemesis, or a *tertium quid*? No wonder that they disagree if they are fighting over a shadow. As a way out of the difficulty, it has been suggested that the poem is a juvenile one, and so prior, we may suppose, to any deep or genuine attachment such as we find in the Delia poems. But, considered in itself, it does not strike us as immature nor its unreality as that of inexperience; and if the literary evidence reviewed above is of any value, an early date is improbable or rather impossible.

Twenty years ago I denounced the piece as a forgery; but I should now somewhat modify this judgment. I do not think that its author meant seriously to palm it off as the genuine work of Tibullus, but rather that Lygdamus included it in his collection by a natural mistake. In its crudity and artificiality it reminds us of nothing so much as a school exercise in the style of an ancient model. Some member of the circle of Tibullus, an admirer both of him and of Propertius, wrote it, we may conjecture, to amuse himself or his friends, introducing the name of Tibullus simply to give an air of verisimilitude to the production and never dreaming of the mystification which this would cause in after ages.

The possibility of such an imitation, which can however hardly be disputed, I may perhaps be allowed to illustrate from my own experience. Years before I had read this poem with any attention, if indeed at all, I had felt the spell of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. Under its influence I produced a more than half serious imitation which I entitled '*In Memoriam condensed*.' Ere long I had the singular gratification of seeing the poet himself publish in '*The Last Tournament*' l. 155 (1871) one of the very phrases that I had made for him. Think now if Tennyson had been a contemporary of Tibullus and my imitation had been sent under the name of the poet to a member of the 'circle' and if after Tennyson's death another Lygdamus had given it to the world, how easy to have seen in it the germ, the youthful conception of the great poem and after the fashion of Baehrens to pronounce: es trägt durchaus den Stempel der Tennysonischen Dichtkunst! What *herrlich's*, what *prachtvoll's* have I lost!

To sum up, in xix we have before us a composition which was never publicly acknowledged by Tibullus or included in the only two books assigned to his authorship by the ancient world. At best it is a waif and a stray. Correct in Latinity and versification it is and in workmanship superior to much in the collection into which the editor without misgivings admitted it. Superficial resemblances to Tibullus again it undeniably contains; but under a closer examination the coldness and unreality of its sentiment, the frequent infelicity of its phrasing, and above all the dissimilarity in its point of view and the impossibility of making it cohere with anything else that we have from his hand should make us loth to attribute it to him. And if its overt assertion of genuineness sways us so far that we cannot regard it as spurious or even as dubious, then I think we are bound, in justice to the memory of him whom Rome accounted the chief of her writers of elegy, to accept the opinion of Dr. F. Marx that Tibullus himself refused it a place in his poems because he deemed it unworthy.

“The elegy is smaller in extent than all those in the first and second books and its poetical merit is inconsiderable. Tibullus himself no doubt excluded it from the collection.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopaedie*, s.v. Albius.



## CRITICAL APPENDIX

The following pages give the origin of all important readings adopted in the foregoing *Selections*. It is convenient to prefix a short account of the character and authority of the sources of Tibullus' text as a whole.

The fact that I have already published a number of papers upon the textual difficulties of Tibullus, to wit, *Journal of Philology*, vols. 20. pp. 312 *sq.*, 25. 50 *sqq.*, 26. 182 *sqq.*, 28. 152 *sqq.*, *Classical Review*, vols. 13. 361, 14. 295 *sq.*, 17. 112 *sqq.* enables me to abbreviate this portion of my work. Here I need only add that where the views now expressed are at variance with those of any of the above-mentioned papers, the latter are to be taken as withdrawn, and, to prevent misunderstanding, that the conjectural proposals to which the sign 'ed.' is suffixed occurred to me independently, though others may have made them before or since.

### SOURCES OF THE TEXT.

#### I.—**Manuscripts.**

##### (1) EXTANT MSS.

Since the publication of E. BAEHRENS' edition of Tibullus (1878) it has been generally recognized that the best extant MSS of the poems are

**A** (the *codex Ambrosianus*) in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (R 26 sup.)

and **V** (the *codex Vaticanus*) No. 3270 in the Vatican Library at Rome.

Baehrens himself attached more importance to the *codex Guelferbytanus G*, a MS in the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel,

MS. Aug. 82. 6 fol. ; but it has now been established that the good readings of this MS upon which Baehrens based his favourable opinion were not originally in the MS but were introduced by conjecture.<sup>1</sup>

A and V are both derived from one and the same source, which is now lost. A is the older of the two, going back to the 14th century, and also the better MS. But V appears to have preserved the truth, or vestiges of the truth, in a few places where it has been lost in A. A subsequent editor of Tibullus, E. HILLER,<sup>2</sup> has indeed disputed this and maintained that all the good readings of V are, or may be, due to conjecture—to my thinking however with incomplete success.

Superior readings of A may be seen at 11. 64 and 72 : superior readings of V at 5. 57, 9. 37, and 10. 10 (probably).

The text of Tibullus as given by AV in agreement, that is the text of their common ancestor, is more trustworthy than that offered by any one of the other MSS which are now known to be in existence, including those whose readings were cited by Lachmann in his edition (1829). The later MSS are really editions by Italian scholars of the Renaissance who introduced into the text, where there were obvious gaps or corruptions, conjectures of their own, sometimes right and sometimes wrong.

Thus in II. iii. a hexameter was lost after 78 (74) 'ianua : si fas est, mos precor ille redi,' and in AV another pentameter 'horrida uillosa corpora ueste tegant' immediately follows. The gap was detected by the Italian scholars, and they filled it up variously : Iouianus Pontanus (who lived 1426–1503) by the verse 'O ualeant cultus et tinctae murice lanae' and Thomas Seneca (circ. 1420) by the verse 'Ah, pereant artes et mollia rura colendi.'

We employ the abbreviation

ψ to represent the readings of the inferior MSS, or readings introduced into the margin or text of A or V, after they were written. It is possible that these include genuine ancient readings as well as happy conjectures ; but we have no means of distinguishing the two.

<sup>1</sup> G. Goetz, *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. 37 (1882). pp. 141–146. The latest defender of G. B. Maurenbrecher (*Philologus*, 1896, pp. 437–461), has not addressed himself to this point.

<sup>2</sup> *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. 37. pp. 568 sq.

## (2) Lost MSS.

(a) *Lachmann's A. The Codex Eboracensis.*

Nothing is now known of this MS except that it was used by the celebrated scholar Nicolas Heinsius (fl. 1620-1681) and is said to have been then at York. It is the only one of the MSS cited by Lachmann for which any authority is claimed. The record of its readings shows that it was both corrupt and interpolated. Some of its good lections were undoubtedly due to conjecture and all of them may have been. Accordingly it seems safer not to cite it as an authority for the text; and I have included such of its readings as should be mentioned under  $\psi$ .

(b) *Fragmentum Cuiacianum, F.*

This was a MS of far greater importance: in fact much better than AV. Unfortunately it was imperfect; for it did not begin till III. iv. 65 (or thereabouts) where it has preserved to Lygdamus a hexameter which has been lost in all the extant MSS. It belonged to Jacques Cujas (Cuiacius 1522-1590) who lent it to his friend and pupil the great scholar J. J. Scaliger (1540-1609). Scaliger noted a number of its readings in a printed copy of Tibullus (Plantin, A.D. 1569) which is now in the University Library at Leyden preserved among the books of Lipsius (No. 59). Readings of F are also given in Scaliger's comments on Tibullus.

The *Varia lectio* will offer abundant proof of the excellence of F: see e.g. 18. 39, 40, 55, 70, 71, 78. It is not however always superior to AV: e.g. *ib.* 60.

## II.—Anthologies.

The deficiencies of the MSS are to some extent made up by two medieval collections of extracts from Tibullus:

(a) *The Excerpta Frisingensia*<sup>1</sup>, Fr.

These were published by L. MUELLER in the *Neue Jahrbücher* vol. 99, (1869) pp. 63 *sqq.* and in the Preface to the Teubner edition. They are a small collection of excerpts, many of them single words only and not amounting to 50 lines in all, preserved in a MS in the Munich library, No. 6292, and ascribed to the 11th century. Their value is in-

<sup>1</sup> So called from Freising a town in Bavaria, where they once were.

creased by the fact that the compiler seems to have had no intention of improving upon Tibullus and that his object, at least in part, was to quote what struck him as showing some peculiarity of words or construction.

This was not the case with the other excerptor to whom we owe

(b) *The Excerpta Parisina, Par.*

These consist of 265 lines, or portions of lines, preserved in two MSS in the National Library at Paris. *Fonds Latins* 7647 (the older and better MS) and 17903. They were given to the world in exact transcript by G. MEYNCKE in the *Rheinisches Museum* vol. 25 pp. 369-392.

They form part of a collection of 'Elegant Extracts' from Latin poets and prose writers. Unfortunately for their usefulness to the editor of Tibullus the monk who collected them, and who appears to have lived in the 11th century, dealt very freely with his material. Not only did he introduce changes which were designed to make his quotations intelligible without the context as at I. i. 25: but anything which he thought could be improved in respect of morals or metre he incontinently altered. His standard for the second, though not for the first, was the Ovidian. Hence he makes away with the trisyllabic ending of the pentameter, altering for example in II. i. 8 'plena coronato stare boues capite' into 'p.c. uertice stare boues.' In his haste he forgets the short vowel before *st* which Tibullus would never have permitted nor for that matter Ovid. The spondaic beginning of I. i. 37 or it may be the form *diui* is not to his liking; so he alters 'Adsitis diui' to 'Vos quoque adeste dei.' His standard of living is the monkish one. Allusions to women and marriage must go, hence he writes III iii (15). 32 '*seculo uitae munere posse frui*' to get rid of '*cara coniuge*.' But he regards with equanimity a weakness for the bottle, and he quotes without alteration the bacchanalian sentiment of II. i, 29. 30 'non—pedes.' Compare 6. 8 inf.

### III.—Ancient quotations and reproductions.

It is often possible to remove a corruption in the text of a classical author by the help of some passage where he is quoted or imitated. Ancient citations of Tibullus are however exceedingly rare. Seneca quotes him once, *Nat.*



*Quaest.* 4. 2. 2, and assigns the extract, ('nec pluuiio supplicat herba Ioui' I. vii [5] 26) to Ovid. Charisius and some other grammarians cite some eight passages or so, from the first two books<sup>1</sup>, in two cases with a wrong ascription. It is noteworthy that there are none from the Third Book. In addition to these verbal quotations Ovid *Tristia* 2. 447-460 gives a paraphrase of a certain number of lines in I. v and vi.

A review of the sources enumerated above shows us that for more than eleven hundred lines out of a total of nineteen hundred or so we are dependent on the tradition of which AV are the best representatives; and we must therefore inquire if this was good or bad. In the light which the subsidiary sources throw upon its character the answer is only too plain.

The excerptor of Par has tampered so much with his text that the evidence of a number of the excerpts is worthless and that of others dubious. None the less do they enable us to remove some 20 corruptions from the text of AV, say at the rate of one in every ten lines assumed to be correctly quoted.

F, the Cujacian fragment, contained somewhat over 500 lines. Scaliger's record of its readings (collation we can hardly call it) is probably incomplete in itself and anyhow was not based on a comparison of its divergencies from the tradition of AV, whose errors, for all that, it enables us to correct in about 40 places.

The evidence supplied by Fr and the grammarians is still more remarkable. Fr convicts AV of corrupting 11 readings in an equivalent of some 50 lines. The eight quotations of the latter enable us to detect 3 corruptions and Ovid's paraphrase 1 at least.

Further we may note that in a certain number of the cases referred to above the subsidiary sources confirm each other in the true reading against the false witness of AV. Thus in the very first couplet Par Fr and Diomedes are united for *multa* against the *magna* of our tradition.

A significant mark of the untrustworthiness of the AV tradition is its proved unfaithfulness in the minutiae of inflexion and spelling. Its 'colo' (also in Par), 'turbo' and 'clauem' may serve to show how insecure is the 'edat' which it offers at I. v. 49 as the subjunctive of 'ëdo,' in place of the

<sup>1</sup> These are given in Bachrens' edition. I include the citation by Charisius already referred to in the Introduction p. xxiii but not the quotation of I. vii. 29-32 by the scholiast on Juvenal 8. 29.

'edit' which is the only form certainly established before the time of Tibullus and which C. M. Francken proposed to restore; compare *Classical Review* 16 p. 112. The corruption of the orthography has been thoroughgoing: it is hard to discover a single contemporary spelling preserved if the later usage was different; compare 18. 60 n. For metre its readings disclose the medieval standard: -um etc. (3. 33) without elision before a vowel, in the true style of the scribe who foisted upon Statins, *Thebaid* 5. 2, (and this in the Pithoeanus, a manuscript not to be named in the same week with AV) the noble line 'illum etenim | ardor sitientium | exsiccatur,' short vowels lengthened in arsis 3. 7, 5. 61 or reckoned short before *sp* (3. 30), and so forth.

The lost MS from which AV are ultimately descended was of no very great antiquity, perhaps not older than the 12th century. This is shown by the abbreviations used in it, some of which were misunderstood by its copyist. Thus at III. viii. (19) 14 'ht,' i.e. 'habet,' was misread as 'lĥ,' i.e. 'hunc,' with confusion of *c* and *t*; cf. 3. 7, 16. A more serious corruption occurs at I. vi. 7, 8 'illa quidem *tam multa* negat sed credere durum est: sic etiam de me pernegat usque uiro.' Here the exemplar had *iu'ta*, i.e. *iurata*, as Heyne with certainty emended from the paraphrase of Ovid *l. c.* 'credere *iuranti* durum putat esse Tibullus, | sic etiam de se quod neget illa uiro.' But the scribe misread it as *mtta* i.e. *multa*.<sup>1</sup> This done the verse was patched by inserting a *tam*. Other misreadings of compendia occur at 1. 7 and at 10. 33 where also the exemplar was itself corrupt. And at I. iv. 54 for 'tamen apta' we should seemingly restore 'tibi rapta' with Baehrens, *trapta* having been misread as *t̄napta*.

Further causes of corruption, to pass over simple confusion of letters, were incorporation of explanatory notes which stood between the lines or in the margin (thus in 18. 55 *ciclops*, a gloss upon 'Neptunius incola' in the next line, drove out *lotos* the genuine reading preserved in F) and copying of a word in the wrong place, 7. 35, Pan. Messall. 94 *contendere* for 'conuertere' from 93, 'domator' *ib.* 116 for a proper name that has been lost (*Salassus* Baehr.) through *mod̄ator* (*moderator*) having been copied from the previous line. These circumstances make it doubtful how we are to regard certain suspicious forms. Thus at 15. 36 the non-literary inflexion

<sup>1</sup> The words might also have been confused without being abbreviated as *iu* and *n* are practically identical, and *r* and *l*, *a* and *u* are confused by AV elsewhere.

*neunt* is perhaps not to be imputed to Lygdamus. It may be a gloss, explaining *stamina ducunt*, which has driven out the verb with which the line ended, perhaps *canunt* as Heinsius conjectured. Or again 'homoiographon'<sup>1</sup> may have caused the omission of *ca* after the *ra* of *futura* and *neunt* have resulted from an attempt to make something intelligible and metrical out of *nunt*.

It is quite certain that lines have been lost in the poems, see e.g. 4. 77, 6. 25 and Introd. p. xxiii., but to what extent it is impossible to say. It is hardly less certain that in the original of AV portions of certain lines were missing or illegible and that some one patched up these imperfect lines as best he could. A notorious case of doctoring is III. vi. 23 'quales his poenas qualis quantusque minetur,' as F shows us Lygdamus wrote, where in place of *qualis* AV present 'deus hic.' In other places what Tibullus wrote is irrecoverable, e.g. I. vi. 42 where the MSS have 'stet procul aut alia stet procul ante uia' which will scan and that is all.<sup>2</sup> So in I. iv. 27 'at si tardus eris, errabis, transiet aetas | quam cito. non segnis stat remeatque dies' the poverty of the diction no less than the metrical licence and the unclassical form of the future *transiet* reveals an alien hand.

The text of Tibullus, like that of Propertius (though to nothing like the same extent), has suffered from the shifting of couplets from their proper place. Several poems have been re-arranged by scholars who were dissatisfied with the order in the manuscripts. Amongst these is the first of all. Here, in the conviction that the poet would bestow especial care on the orderly arrangement of his matter in a prefatory poem, I have accepted two transpositions which are all that are needed to make his treatment sequent and coherent. The reader will judge for himself whether the result justifies the procedure. The account of the progress of civilization in II. i (7) 37 *sqq.* also appears to have been disarranged in parts: but the remedies proposed are uncertain and I have left it as it stands. The displacement in III. x. (20) is universally admitted, even by the most dogged opponents of transposition as a critical remedy. For

<sup>1</sup> 'Homoiographon' is a general term for the influence of similar letters or groups of letters in inducing corruption. See *Class. Rev.* 16. (1902) p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> These passages and others which seemed to belong to the same class have been discussed by H. Belling, *Kritische Prolegomena zu Tibull* Berlin 1893. See *Cl. Rev.* 9. 74 *sqq.*, where his theory is examined.



II. v. (11) 67 *sqq.* and 77 *sq.* it is enough to refer to the critical notes.

It is easier to see that the text of Tibullus must be unsound in many places than to put one's finger upon the exact site of the corruption or to suggest an adequate remedy. The reason is that the subjects are in the main those of every-day life, and only by the distinction of his treatment lifted out of the common-place. Hence it was easy for a dull copyist or corrector to leave the matter and yet destroy the style. The bloom so brushed off our skill is not sure or delicate enough to restore.

There is corresponding, though not identical, uncertainty in the case of Lygdamus. He has probably lost less because there was less to lose; but here too the loss is untraceable.

The irritating perplexities which wait upon our attempts to make up our minds upon the correct reading of disputed passages may be illustrated from a single case. The word *placitura* is found three times in the manuscripts: II. v. 35, *ib.* 51, III. xvii. 1. In the first place it is clearly sound and in the third admittedly corrupt. From III. xvii. 1, where it has supplanted *pia cura*, we learn that the repetition of a word may be just as well due to its clinging to a scribe's memory as to the author's repeating himself (Introd. p. xxix)<sup>1</sup> and hence we are led to suspect it in v. 51, where *paritura* would be much more relevant in this connexion and is besides a word corrupted to *placitura* in the best MS of the Thebaid 12. 539 'hosti ueniat paritura marito.' I have not however felt justified in substituting it.

The conclusion is that, while frankly admitting the evil condition of our text, we must be as careful to observe that our best attempts at correction may be no better than stop-gaps, and that if one of these is to be better than a rival, the only way of making it so is by a most exact and minute

<sup>1</sup> Mr. A. B. Cook who has lately written two very suggestive papers on unconscious repetitions (*Classical Review*, vol. 16, pp. 146 *sqq.*, 256 *sqq.*) appears to me to underestimate the frequency of scribes' repetitions. There are two sorts of these unauthorized repetitions: (1) the copying of a word or words in the wrong place (*dittography*), (2) the unconscious repetition of a familiar phrase. These latter are only another phase of the tendency of authors to repeat themselves. They are not likely to be so frequent; but when they are added to the repetitions under (1), the joint total is respectable. That ancient authors often verbally repeated themselves within a few lines is unquestionable. But it is equally certain that each and every kind of repetition was not admissible. And the kinds that were have yet to be determined.



attention to the vocabulary and phrasing which is attested for sound passages in the poems. Compare *J. Phil.* 26. pp. 87 sq., 28. pp. 153-156.

## BOOK I

## I. i. (= 1)

2. *multa*. So the Paris and Freising Anthologies and the grammarian Diomedes p. 484 (Keil) with the support of Tibullus II. iii. (9) 46 and of Ovid *Fast.* 3. 192 ('iugeraque inculti pauca tenere soli' obviously modelled on this line: for the opposite of *pauca* is *multa*). AV have *magna* which can only be defended by assuming either (1) that *iuger*, a land measure, is used loosely for land, for which Virgil's 'et labefacta mouens robustus iugera fossor' *G.* 2. 264 is not sufficient warrant, or (2) that the confusion of size and number which we observe in *quanti* for *quot* (Prop. 1. 5. 10 'milia quanta') *toti* (compare Fr. tous) for *omnes* had extended as early as Tibullus to *magnus*. The citation from Statius *Theb.* 5. 550 'spatiosaue iugera complet' does not help much.

3. *pauor* Markland.

*deterat* Huschke.

5. *uita* PF, *uite* AV.

7-14, (=25-32 of the vulgate), follow v. 32 in the MSS and were transposed here by Haase, who also shifted 33, 34 ('at uos—grege'), which is unnecessary.

7. *iam modo iam possim* Fris., *iam modo non possum* AV, *Quippe ego iam possum* Par. The MS reading which Schneidewin emended has arisen from a confusion of *m°* = *modo* and *m<sup>i</sup>* = *mihi* as in III. xix. 3.

9. *aestiuos ortus* is a difficult expression and Bentley's *ictus* of the sun's rays beating down may be right; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2. 15. 10 'tum spissa ramis laurea feruidos | excludet ictus.' The plural seems to have the same force as in *καύματα*, in a fragment of Alcaeus, which Tibullus may have in his mind *λασίας θάμνφ ὑπὸ πλατάνου | καύματ' ὁπωρινόιο φυγῶν κνυόσ.*

11. *bidentes* V, *ludentes* A, *bidentem* Par.

19-22, (15-18 of the vulgate), which follow 'libatum—deo' (26) in the MSS, were transposed here by Haase who again moved a couplet (27-28 'uos quoque...Lares') too

much. This change of order enables us to dispense with two emendations *fit* for *sit* in 19 and *donatur* for *ponatur* in 21.

24. *florida* 'flowery,' for which some inferior MSS substitute *floreā*, is defended by *florida sēta* Ov. *F.* 6. 312 and the analogy of *herbidus* 'grassy.'

26. *deo* Muretus, *deum* AV.

32. *clamet* ψ, *clamat* AV.

34. *est* AVPar, om. Fr.

35. *hinc* ed., *hic* the MSS without sense.

37. *nec* Par some editors, unnecessarily. *e* Par, *ec* AV.

41. *fructusue* Par, perhaps rightly.

43. *satis est uno* Par. The text is suspicious.

44. *si licet* ψ, *scilicet* AV Par.

46. *continuisse* is a strange use of the compound. Baehrens conjectured *tum tenuisse*, which may be right.

48. *imbre* Par, *igne* AV, which is preferred by some editors. No doubt a fire is a comfort in chilly weather and sends people to sleep.

49. *sit* Par, *si* AV.

55. *uictum* the late MSS, *uinctum* AV, which is barely tolerable. The words are often confused in MSS, as at Tib. II. iv. 33 *uicta* was corrupted to *uicta* and this further corrupted to *incerta*. *uictus* is used by Tibullus in this connexion I. viii. 49 'neu Marathum torque: puero quae gloria uicto est?' *captum* need not be expected any more than at II. v. 116 'oppida uicta.'

59. *te teneam* ψ, perhaps rightly.

64. *uincta* Fr, *iuncta* AV. *neque* Fr, *nec* AV.

73. *uenus*. In this and similar words, *bacchus*, etc., I print a small initial if the person is not clearly intended.

74. *conseruisse* which is found in some late MSS may be right: being a military word (*conserere manus*, *pugnam*, etc. 'join battle') it would lead up well to the 'miles' of v. 75.

78. *dites despiciam* AV; *despiciam dites* the order of words in Par is that of I. vii. (5) 64.

### I. iii. (= 2)

4. *precor atra* ψ, *modo nigra* AV. The *modo* may have come from *mihi*; but Tibullus could hardly have written 'Mors nigra' and then 'Mors atra.' 'atra' is his epithet for death, I. x (6). 33.

9. For *cum* Dousa conjectured *quam* which is neater after *ante*.

12. *trinis* Muretus for the MS *trivis*.

*omnia* AV. *omina*, the vulgate, is inadmissible as H. Belling points out. For *sortes* were not *omina*, Cic. *de divin.* 2. 83 sq. compared with 85.

13. *nusquam* V.

14. *quin* Aldine edition of 1502, *cum* AV.  
*despueritque* Haupt, as spitting was thought to be a way of averting calamities.

17. *aut*  $\psi$ , *dant* AV.

18. *Saturniue* some scholar mentioned by Broukhusius, *Saturni* AV.

22. *sciet* Doering (and ed. independently), *sciat* vulg. But the sense is not 'let him know,' but 'he will know' (to his cost).

25. *lauari* ought to be the perfect infinitive as it depends on 'quid mihi *nunc* prodest?' This difficulty as well as that which Doering and Baehrens found in the position of *memini* (26) referring exclusively to *pure lauari*, would be removed if we read *quodue* for *quidue*. *Memini* will then be the main verb grammatically though in sense it will be parenthetical, 'as I remember': cf. *debeat* v. 32 and *dicitur* 11. 19 with notes. The construction of *memini* with the pres. infin. of a fact within a person's own knowledge is regular: cf. Cic. *Amic.* § 11 etc. [N.L.P. 378].

29. *noctes* Scaliger, *uoces* AV, which has been defended in the sense of 'hymns of praise'; but these are mentioned in the next line.

36. *Tethys* Markland ingeniously.

47. *acies* has been doubted and several conjectures made, of which the best is Wölfflin's *macies*, see Hor. *Carm.* 1. 3. 30. But the text is sound as I have shown in the *Journal of Philology*, 25. 50.

50. *repente*  $\psi$ , *reperte* AV. Innumerable conjectures have been made for the last three words of the line: e.g. *multa reperta uia est*  $\psi$ , L. Mueller, *mille patentque uiae* F. Leo. We might guess *mille reperta uides*.

51. *timidum* reads rather awkwardly. But Virgil *Aen.* 12. 875 'ne me *terrete* timentem, | *obscaenae uolucres*' supports the text.

54. *fac*. As there is a certain harshness in making this a prayer to Jupiter, something may have been lost as some edd. suppose,

63. *at* V.  
 68. *circa* Par.  
 69. For the strange *impexa* of the text  $\psi$  reads *implexa* : cf. Virg. *G.* 4. 481 'caeruleos implexae crinibus angues.'  
 71. *tum* Par is more usual in the sense of 'beside' than *tunc* AV.  
     *serpentum*. Palmer ingeniously conjectured *per centum* ...*ora* which may be right as *stridet* by itself is sufficient to indicate the snakes.  
 86. *colu* Fr, *colo* AVPar  
 91. *tunc*  $\psi$ , *nunc* AV.

## I. v. 1—36 (= 3)

3. *turben*, a rare form preserved by the grammarian Charisius p. 145 8 K. ; all the MSS have *turbo*.

7. *per te*  $\psi$ , *parce* AV.

14. *deueneranda*. The gerundive is strange. Hence  $\psi$  Guietus (and ed. independently) conjectured *deuenerata*, past part. in a passive sense, as *ueneratus* is used more than once.

16. *triviae*  $\psi$ , *creme* AV.

20. *et* Santen, *sed* AV, which is unsatisfactory whether we put a comma before *demens* or refer it to *fingebam* as if *demens* were not there.

28. *segete*  $\psi$ , *segete et* AV with a metrical insertion.

30. *at inuuet*  $\psi$ , *adinuuet* AV.

33. *nirūm hunc* contains a fatal metrical flaw. The *u* is naturally short in the acc. sing. and the *m* does not protect it from elision. This is much the same as if a short vowel e.g. *legě* were to be lengthened before another vowel instead of being elided. No probable conjecture has been proposed. The easiest change is that in the inferior MSS *nunc* and in 34 '*nunc* paret.'

## I. vi. 43—86 (= 4)

45. *motu*  $\psi$ , *mota* AV.

46. *amens*  $\psi$ , *et amans* AV. The *et* appears to be a metrical insertion (see on 11. 71 fin.) though it might have arisen from some scribe misunderstanding a correction of *amans*, as I have suggested elsewhere.

47. *violenta*  $\psi$ , *uiolata* AV.



53. *attigeris* ψ, *attigerit* AV.  
 55. *nescio quam*—*poenam* Baehrens, taking *levis* to refer to the punishment.  
 67. *uitta* ψ, *uicta* AV.  
 70. *possim* ψ, *possum* AV.  
 71. *putet* ψ, *ducarque* ψ, *putat ducorque* AV.  
 72. *pronas* ψ, *proprias* AV.  
     *proripiarque* ψ, *proripiorque* AV.  
     *immerito* is very suspicious. Perhaps we should read *in medium* 'into the public view.'  
 76. After this line we have lost one or more couplets depicting in attractive colours the later life of a woman who has been true to her lover.  
 80. *ducta*. *duco* and *traho* are conjoined in Lucan 8. 720. But here *dente* ψ seems very probable: *dens* will be the toothed comb (*pecten*) with which the wool was carded and cleaned as described in Claudian in *Eutrop.* 2. 381 sqq. 'doctissimus artis | quondam lanificae, moderator pectinis unci. | non alius lanam purgatis sordibus aequae | praebuerit calathis, similis nec pinguis quisquam | uellera per tenues ferri producere rimas.'  
 84. *quam* ψ, *quod* AV.

## I. vii. (= 5)

The textual difficulties in the beginning of this poem (1—12) have been discussed in the *Classical Review* for 1903 vol. 17 pp. 112 sqq.

3. *hoc fore* 'that on this day would be born' Heyne, perhaps rightly. The use of *fore* in 11. 21 (q.v.) is somewhat similar.

4. *cum ed.*, *quem* AV.  
     *Atax* AV, *Atur* Scaliger.  
 6. *euinctos* ψ V as corrected, *uictos* A, *uictos* after an erasure V (according to Baehrens).  
 8. *nitidis* AV restored by ed. with F. Wilhelm, *niveis* vulg.  
 9. *sine marte ibi* Baehrens, *sine me est tibi* AV vulg.  
     *Tarbella* Scaliger, *tua bella* AV.  
 11. *Atur Duramisque* Scaliger, taking the reference to be to rivers of Aquitania Proper: but see the commentary.  
 12. *Carnutis* Fr; *Carnoti* AV, *Carnuti* ψ which involve a false quantity. For the *u* was pronounced short as we know

from its scansion in Venantius Fortunatus (end of 6th cent. A.D.) and the mod. Fr. *Chartres* which goes back to *Carnūtes*.  
*caerula. garrula* Gruppe.

13 *sq.* Before this couplet something may have been lost : see *Classical Review* l.c.

14. *placidis aquis*, the MS reading, is impossible after *tacitis undis*, for which Lachmann proposed *tactis...ulnis*. Statius' <sup>1</sup> *caeruleis placidus...aquis* is a very easy change, but *placidae...aquae* which I have written, *faute de mieux*, suits the local features better : see the explanatory note.

16. *alat* ψ, *arat* AV.

17. *crebras* is sometimes taken as 'populous' which would give better sense ; but to get it we must read *celebres*.

39. I have printed *bacchus* without the capital here and in 41 as it seemed unlikely that Tibullus would identify Osiris with Bacchus without any warning.

40. *laetitiae*, an old conjecture recently recommended by Mr. Housman, *Classical Review* 1903, p. 309, *tristitiae* AV. The best that can be done with this is given in the following alternative note.

"Here *tristitiae* must be explained as a Graecism for 'tristitia' (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3. 17 end 'operum solutis,' and elsewhere) ; but the abl. is not elsewhere found with *dissolvere*, as it is with *soluere* ; *diuelli* is, it is true, so used ; but in the case of *dissolui* there is nothing nearer than Cicero, *Cat.* ii. 18 'magno in aere alieno maiores etiam possessiones habent quarum amore adducti dissolui nullo modo possunt,' which is obviously insufficient. **dissoluenda dedit.** *Dare* is often used with the past participles, and here, and in Ovid *Fast.* 2. 367 *sq.* 'caestibus et iaculis et misso pondere saxi | brachia per lusus experienda dabant' and Plautus, *Cist.* 3. 17 'iam ad me adglutinandam totam decretumst dare,' with the gerundive, as a periphrasis for the simple verb. The difference is this : 'dissoluta dedit' is 'fecit ut *dissoluta* essent,' *dissoluenda dedit* is 'fecit ut *dissoluerentur*.'"

42. *compede* ψ, *cuspede* AV.

49. *genium...centumque* G. G. Ramsay, *centum...geniumque* AV.

*ludis* ψ, *ludos* AV. For the confusion of *i* with *o* cf. II. iii. 63 where AV have *liquor* for *loquor* and 17. 11.

53. *Geni tibi* ed., *deus, tibi* C. M. Francken, *tibi dem* AV. The difficulty in the MS reading is that *tibi* must mean

<sup>1</sup> Achilles Estagō b. 1524, d. 1581.

Osiris, whereas the *tus* and *liba* were the offerings to the Genius as is clear from II ii. (8) 3-8.

56. *uenerata* ψ, *uenerande* L. Mueller.

57. *nec* V, *ne* A.

*quem* ψ, *que* AV.

58. *candidane* L. Mueller, which may be right, as *que* and *ue* are often confused in MSS; cf. I. i. 41. But the Romans often used *and* where we should use *or*, e.g. Virg. *G.* 3. 120 sq. 'quamuis saepe fuga uersos ille egerit hostes | et patriam Epirum referat fortisque Mycenae.' The horse was not born in Epirus *and* in Mycenae.

61. *a* omitted by the MSS, added by Baehrens.

# I. x. 1-50 (= 6)

8. *sciphus* Fr one Par, *ciphus* AV the other Par.

For *dapes* Par has the more plain-spoken *merum*.

11. *uigili* ed., *uulgi* the MSS. Numerous other conjectures have been made, of which Heyne's *Valgi*, cf. Introduction p. xx. n., is the least improbable.

15. Baehrens conjectured *ēidem*: but the uncontracted form of the nom. plural is very rare in verse. *ut idem* might be proposed.

18. *ueteris* ψ, *ueteres* AV.

23. *ipse* ψ, *ipsa* AV.

25. Two lines at least have been lost here though there is no trace of a lacuna in AV.

30. *aduersos* ψ, *aduerso* AV.

33. *accersere* AV, *arcessere* ψ. The two verbs are inextricably confused in MSS.

36. *turpis* ψ, *puppis* AV.

37. *pertusis*, sometimes spelt *pertussis*, Livineius, *percussis* AV, which could hardly bear the meaning *cavis*, *percussis* Par.

39. *quin* AV, *quam* ψ.

43. Markland conjectured *hic ego sim*. But *sic* or *ita esse* of being in a certain condition is found elsewhere, e.g. Plaut. *Amph.* 573 sq. '*A.* hic homo ebrius est ut opinor. *S.* Vtinam ita essem,' ib. 604 '*sic sum ut uides.*'

46. *curua* AV, *panda* Par, which may be right.

49. *bicens uomorque* Par, *nitens uomere* AV.

*nitent* Guetius, *nitet* Par, *uiderit* AV.

## BOOK II

## II. i. 1—66 (= 7)

1. *faueat* Scaliger, *ualeat* AV.
9. *sint*  $\psi$ , *sunt* AV.
13. *mente* Par.
29. *celebrant* Par.
34. *avis* Scaliger, *ades* AV (from v. 35).
38. *glande* Par, *grande* AV.
- 42-43. *tum* Par, *tunc* AV in all places; *tunc insita* Lipsius.
45. *aurea* Par, *antea* AV.
58. A deeply corrupt line in the MSS which have *hircus auxerat* (or *hauserat*) *hircus oues*. My correction is based on Waardenburg's '*dux pecoris curtas auxerat hircus opes*.' But the first *hircus* is apparently a gloss on *dux pecoris* and consequently there can have been no '*hircus*' in the line to begin with. As we cannot tell what was the exact word which the first '*hircus*' supplanted, it is better to replace it by an adjective which Tibullus uses elsewhere (*paruas*) than by one which he does not (*curtas*).
65. The MSS have *assidue* (which may mean *assiduæ*) *textrix op. Mineruam*. This can be set right either by reading (a) *assiduæ textrix op. Mineruæ* ( $\psi$ ), or (b) *assidue textis* (Fruterius) *op. Mineruam*, as Baehrens does. If (b) is right, *textrix* must be regarded as a gloss.
66. *a pulso* Muretus (and ed. independently), *appulso* the MSS; but neither this nor the vulgate *applauso* seems possible. I have adopted the interpretation of Magnus and Buecheler.

## II. ii. (= 8)

5. *adsit genius*  $\psi$ , *genius adsit* AV which is a very doubtful scansion for Tibullus. The authority of the MSS is of little value in a matter like this: thus in u. 73 of the previous poem they have '*iuueni detraxit opus*, hic dicere iussit' for *opes*, and the order *adsit genius* being an unusual one in prose was liable to be altered, as Dr. W. Headlam has shown, *Classical Review*, 1902, pp. 243 foll.



7. *destillent* ψ, *distillent* AV.
9. *Cerinthe* ψ, see Introd. p. xxxviii. n. 3.
15. *Indis* Par, *undis* AV.
17. *uiden ut* ψ (cf. II. i. 25) for *utinam* AV, which is clearly wrong as the appearance of Love is the sign that the prayer is granted.
20. From this verse to iii. 52 was omitted in V.
21. *haec* ψ, *hic* A; *ualeat* ed., *ueniat* A. *Eueniat* Housman, which may be right.

## II. iii. (= 9)

1. *Cerinthe* ψ.
2. *heu* ψ, *heu heu* AV, which is hardly classical. So in 49, 11. 108, 25. 17.
3. *laetos* ψ strikes a false note.
5. *dum* Heyne, *cum* A.
11. *Admeti* ψ, *armenti* AV.
14. *sqq.* Some editors number 15—18 as 14 *a b* and *c*, and 19—62 as 15—58.
16. In A this line is omitted altogether, 17 following immediately upon 15. V has in its place ‘*creditur ad mulctram constituisse prius*’ which was written by T. Seneca (above p. 201).

All that is certain about the lost line is that it contained a word like *dicitur* (which I have supplied with ψ) upon which the verbs *solitus* and *docuisse* depended.

18. *mixtis* ψ (and ed. independently), *mistus* (= *mixtus*) A.
31. *Pytho* ψ, *phito* A.
- 37-38, which I have printed in smaller type, are addressed by Tibullus to his rival; but they are unintelligible without the rest of the context which has been lost. *is es* V, *is est* A.
40. *est adoperta*, Par.
45. *obsidere* Par, *obsistere* AV.
47. *tumultu* ψ, *tumulti* A, *tumultus* ψ.
51. *tibi* AV, *mihi* Par, a reading which gives sense but is uncertain. *tibi*, if right, is probably addressed to Nemesis, in which case some lines have been lost as Baehrens supposed.

## II. iv. (= 10)

1. *Hic* ψ, *Sic* A, *Ic* V.
2. *paterna* ψ, *paterue* AV.
4. *remittit* ψ, *remittet* AV

5. *nil* Heinsius, *quid* AV.

10. *uasti* ψ, omitted in A, *uitrei* V, which may conceal *Libyci*, as I conjectured in *J. Phil.* 28 p. 152, comparing Ovid *Fast.* 3. 568 '*insula quam Libyci uerberat unda freti*' and other places.

12. *nam* AV, *nunc* Par, which may be right.

17. *et qualis* ψ, *equalis* AV.

29. *addit* ed., *hic dat* AV, *praebet auaritiae causas pretiosa potentum Vestis*, etc., Par.

31. *clauim* Charisius p. 126. 4 Keil, *clauem* AV.

33. *uicta* ψ, *incerta* AV, which has come from *uicta* (i.e. *uincta*) ; see above on 1. 55.

## II. v. (= 11)

4. *pias* ed. (*pius* is corrupted to a possessive pronoun at Ovid *Fast.* 4. 724, 5. 49, *Ibis* 613), *nouas* Vahlen, *meas* AV which Mr. A. Cartault retains, placing the couplet after v. 10 and understanding the sense to be that Tibullus invokes the God to sing for him now as formerly he sang a paean for Jove.

18. *quid* ψ, *quos* AV, a strange corruption. Perhaps *quos* is genuine and *ipse precor* an interpolation to supply the place of a lost word (? *euentus*, cf. I. vi. (4) 50).

22. Mr. Housman proposed to interchange the places of *deos* and *lares* v. 20, Baehrens conjectured *domos*.

34. *pulsa* ψ, *pulla* AV.

35. *illac* Rossbach, *illaque* AV, *illa* a corrector in V edd.

47. *Rutulis* ψ, *rutilis* AV.

51. Perhaps *paritura* : see above p. 207.

59. For the difficult *patent* I conjectured *tepent* in *Cl. Rev.* 15. p. 213. Mr. S. Allen suggests *rubent*, which is elegant but not very near the letters.

62. *longa—uia* Scaliger, *longam—uiam* AV.

64. *uescar* ψ, *noscar* A, *noscat* V.

67-80. This passage presents a number of serious textual difficulties. The first four lines cohere neither with the preceding nor the subsequent context and the perplexity which this produces is increased by the uncertainty of the reading in 71 *sq.*

67-70 contain, as I have elsewhere observed, *J. Phil.* 26. p. 189, an allusion to the second collection of Sibylline oracles which was formed after the destruction of the first by

fire (see Appendix B above, p. 186) and I proposed *J. Phil.* *ib.* p. 190 to put them after v. 16: thus

abditā quae senis fata canit pedibus,  
quidquid Amalthea, quidquid Marpessia dixit e'c.

So placed they would have a pertinent sense. The sentences beginning with *quidquid* etc. would give the whole contents of the *abditā fata* and assert by implication that the extant oracles were as truly Sibylline and as vital to the welfare of Rome as the first collection. But since we cannot ascertain either the sense, or the number, or the place of the lines that must have been lost between 66 and 71, it is best to leave the passage where it stands in the MSS.

68. *Phyto* Huschke, *Phoebo* AV; *Graia* Lachmann, *grata* AV. Editors accept these emendations. But it is possible that *Phoebo grata* is genuine and that the comma should be placed after *dixit*. According to the legends *Herophile* claimed close connexion with *Phoebus*, asserting even that she was his own sister. Tibullus may have intended to suggest that Ἡροφίλη was really Φοίβης φίλη.

69. *quaeque* ed., *quodque* AV, *quasque* ψ.

*Aniena* the Italians, *Albana* AV which has come from the gloss *Albunea*, cf. 18. 55.

*Tiburs* the Italians, *Tiberis* AV.

70. *portarat* H. Belling improving on my *raptarat*, *portarit* AV.

*perlueratque* ed., *perlueritque* AV.

71. *sq.* Here also the difficulties are serious. The MSS have *haec*—*cometē* (ē meaning *em* or *en*) and *multus et in terras depuleritque* (AV, *depuleritque*). The vulgate reading is

hac fore dixerunt belli mala signa cometen  
multus ut in terras depuleretque lapis.

But some editors keep *haec*, understanding it as *fem. plural*, which it might conceivably be, as Tibullus does not use this case elsewhere (so in Catullus 64. 220 *haec*, the MS tradition, may be right). The sense would then be 'these (Sibyls) predicted a comet and showers of stones,' and the construction 'dixerunt fore cometen, belli mala signa, fore-que ut multus lapis depuleret,' *fore* being understood a second time in an impersonal sense. This is harsh, but possible. Another difficulty is that the rest of the prodigies are not represented as being predicted by the Sibyls, but as *actually occurring* (*solem uidit, ferunt audita et praecinuisse*

which are tantamount to *audita sunt et praecinuerunt*, see expl. note on l. 9). They are too the portents which it was universally believed at Rome marked the anger of the Gods at the murder of Julius Caesar and were associated with the state's numerous misfortunes.

Cicero in his poem upon his own consulship has a similar list of portents which he says foreboded the Catilinarian troubles; and he has the same phrase *haec fore* of the *calamities signified*. His words are obscure; but of the gender of *haec* there can be no doubt.

quid uero Phoebi fax, tristis nuntia belli,  
quae magnum ad columnen flammato ardore uolabat  
praecipitis caeli partis obitusque petessens?  
aut cum terribili percussus fulmine cuius  
luce serenanti uitalia lumina liquit?  
aut cum se grauido tremefecit corpore tellus?  
iam uero uariae nocturno tempore uisae  
terribiles uisu formae bellum motusque monebant  
multaque per terras uates oracla furenti  
pectore fundebant tristis minitancia casus.  
atque ea quae lapsu tandem cecidere uetusto  
haec fore perpetuis signis clarisque frequentans  
ipse deum genitor caelo terrisque canebat.

Cic. de Div. I § 17.

On the whole then I have thought it more likely that *haec* refers to the troubles of the state. This involves altering the acc. in 71 to the nom.; for the plural see the expl. note. The easiest correction of 72 is Baehrens' 'multus et in terras *depluit usque lapis*.' But it lacks force and sacrifices the Tibullian postponement of *que*. I have therefore put my own conjecture in the text. The corruption of *-at* to *-it* we have just had: *multus* was transposed (cf. 8. 5), perhaps accidentally, to precede *in terras* and *et* was then inserted to fill up the verse; cf. 95, 28, 3. 46.

75 sq. and 77 sq. I have transposed after Rigler. This avoids an awkward parenthesis and brings the climax 'ipsum etiam solem' etc. to the end. The mistake was due to the scribe 'skipping' from *praecinuisse* to *praemonuisse*.

79. *fuertint* ψ, *fuertant* AV.

81. *ut* AV, *et* ψ edd.

*crepitat* ψ, *crepitet* AV edd.

82. *satur* Cornelissen, which would give a better sense; but see Introd. p. xxix, and above, on v. 51.

92. *comprensis* ψ, *compressis* AV.

95. *operata* ψ, *operta* A, *et operta* V, a metrical interpolation.



99. *extruet* ψ, *extruat* AV.

105. Baehrens supposed something to have been lost before this line, perhaps rightly.

109 *sqq.* *iaceo* ψ, *taceo* AV. Scholars have proposed to change one or other of the *cum*'s in this line and the next; but the punctuation which I have given avoids the necessity, though Statius' *dum* in 110 is tempting.

120. G has *parens* which Maurenbrecher defends, l.c. p. 439. If *parens* is a conjecture, it is certainly a very acute one as it is based on the observation that elsewhere Tibullus uses it, and not *pater*, in the literal sense of 'father.' *pater* I. iii. 51, iv. 23, vii. 23, II. iii 66; *patrum* ancestors I. i. 41, *paterna* ancestral I. x. 48, II. iv. 2; *parens* I. vii. 55, II. v. 19, 91.

## II. vi. (= 12)

10. *laeta* ed., *facta* AV

16. *si licet* ψ, *scilicet* AV.

32. *feram* ψ, *ferant* AV.

36. *ut* condemned by Rigler.

## BOOK III

### III. (LYGDAMUS) i. (= 13)

7-14. The inverted commas are due to Muretus.

8. *nouis* ed., *meis* AV, which cannot stand with *tuum* in 12. Hence edd. change one or other of the possessives.

10. *pumex et* ψ, *pumicet et* AV, probably from a gloss on *tondeat*.

11. *praetexat* ψ, *pretexit* A, *protexit* V.

12. For *facta* Livineius proposed *picta* 'coloured,' which may be right, as *fa* may have come from *fastigia* in the previous line.

15. *per uos* ψ, *paruos* AV.

16. *umbram* ψ, *umbrosam* AV.

21. *meritam* ψ edd., *meritum* AV, which might be acc. in apposition to the sentence.

26. *sibi* ψ, *tibi* AV.

## III. ii. (= 14)

7. *est* added by  $\psi$ .

10. *super*  $\psi$  adopted by most editors does not seem necessary : see the lexx.

15. *rogate* AV, *precatae*  $\psi$  edd., *recentem* ed. from Ovid quoted in expl. note. Cf. Stat. *Theb.* 9. 432 ; and on Ovid's imitations of Lygdamus see Introd. p. xlv. The corruption arose from RECĒTĒ being copied *regete*, which was then made to scan.

18. *incinctae*. This word has usually the sense of 'girded,' and so most edd. take it here. But the evidence of facts and probability tends another way. The Romans would be well acquainted with the ceremonies which Lygdamus is describing, and even if the negative compound had never been used before, it would have no ambiguity for them. Compare Lucan 8. 787 'et *inustus* ossa medullis,' where no one could fail to see that 'inustus' means 'unburnt' though it occurs nowhere else in this sense. But there is reason to believe that *incinctus* 'ungirdled' was in vulgar use, as Isidore assigns this sense to explain *incincta*, a pregnant woman, whence is derived the Fr. *enceinte*. For the acc. of part concerned with a negative compound cf. 2. 69.

21. *uelis*  $\psi$ , *uentis* AV.

23. *illuc* Baehrens, which would agree better with *eodem* below.

*Neerae*  $\psi$ , *Neera* AV.

24. *pinguis*  $\psi$ , *dives* from v. 23 AV. Lygdamus was perhaps thinking of Hor. *Carm.* 2. 12. 21 *sqq.* 'num tu quae tenuit *dives* Achaemenes | aut *pinguis* Phrygiae Mygdonias opes | permutare uelis crine Licymniae | plenas aut Arabum domos ?'

29. *cura*  $\psi$  (G has *cara*), *cā*, that is *causa*, AV. Cf. p. 205.

## III. iii. (= 15)

7. *sociarem*  $\psi$ , *sociarent* AV.

9. *permensae*  $\psi$ .

14. *caryste*  $\psi$ , *thariste* AV.

17. *legitur quae* Par, *legiturque in* AV, with a metrical insertion of *in*.

20. *invidia est* Par, *inuida quae* AV.

- 21. *hominum* Fr,  $\psi$ , *homini* AV.
- 22. *nam* AVPar, *nec* Fr.  
*regit* Par, *gerit* AVFr.
- 24. *at*  $\psi$ , *et* AV.
- 28. *aversa*  $\psi$ , *adversa* AV.
- 29. *non me* Par.
- 36. *neunt* AV, *canunt* Heins. which may be right, see above p. 206.

### III. iv. (= 16)

3, 4. *uani* referring to *somnia*, is undoubtedly lax writing. But, as I said (*J. Phil.* 25 p. 58), a similar looseness of expression is sometimes found, e.g. in Lucretius (Munro on l. 352, 6. 188, Brieger praef. xix.). *Lucr.* 6. 214 sq. is '*fulgit item cum rarescunt quoque nubila caeli | nam cum uentus eas leuiter diducit euntis*,' i.e. *nubes*. Another way of avoiding the difficulty would be to transpose the couplet to follow line 16 as I suggested in *J. Phil.* ib. p. 59. Then *ite* will refer to *tremores*.

*nobis* Guietus, *notis* AV, *sanctis* ed. doubtfully, *J. Phil.* l.c.

9. *uanum* metuens  $\psi$ , *natum* maturas AV. These two changes seem the easiest. I formerly conjectured *an uerum monitura J. Phil.* l.c.

- 11. *monenti*  $\psi$ , *moneri* AV.
- 12. *solent* ed., *uolent* AV.
- 17. *emensa*  $\psi$ , *emersa* AV.
- 21. *summo*—*ab Oeta* Markland, as names of mountains often follow the gender of *mons*.

26. *heroum*—*ulla domus* Lachmann, *humanum*—*illud opus* AV. One of Lachmann's best emendations: *tulit* however which he also proposed, for *uidet*, is too far from the MSS. If any change is required, *dedit* (ed. *J. Phil.* 28. 191, comparing *Hor. Carm.* 3. 6. 47 and other passages) would be nearer.

28. It is odd that *Syrio* both here and in III. vi. 63 is corrupted to *Tyrio*. Possibly Lygdamus made the mistake himself.

- 32. *ore nitente* Baehrens.
- 42. *dulci tristia* Broukhusius, *tristi dulcia* AV.
- 47. *aeuique*  $\psi$ , *cuique* AV.
- 50. *feram* Broukhusius, *ferat* AV.  
*quodque*  $\psi$ , *quidque* AV.

59. For *suas* Lipsius conjectured *tuis* which may be right, but *suis* 'proper to it' (Muretus and Dousa and ed. independently) seems better.

64. *prece* ψ, *fide* AV.

65. omitted in AV, is in the Cujacian fragment F. For *ualidos*, a strange epithet with *labores*, Baehr. conjectured *uastos*, L. Mueller *uarios*. If any change is permissible, I should prefer *ualidos leones*; see *J. Phil.* 25. 61 where I cited Prop. I. 1. 12, 2. 19. 21 sq., and Lucr. 5. 1310 and 985.

66. *posse* Fr. AV, *saeua* F.

80. *hoc* F, *ac* AV.

81. *pectore* ψ.

87. *canis anguinea* ψ for *consanguinea* AV, but *anguina* (ed.) is the classical adjective for *anguis*. *anguineus* is due to the influence of *sanguineus*; compare the mistake of the Teubner edition of Statius' Thebaid which prints 'sanguicomae' at 12. 647 in spite of the metre.

89. *succincta* F, *submixta* AV.

96. *irrita* the Italians, *impia* AV. The corruption has come from confusion of *IRITA* and *IPIA*.

### III. v. (= 17)

1. *Vos* ψ, *os* V, *Nos* A.

3. *proxima* Scioppius, *maxima* AV.

7. *piorum* the Italians, *deorum* AV, *uirorum* ψ.

10. *trita* F, *certa* AV.

11. *sacrilegos* ψ, *sacrilegis* AV.

*admouimus* ψ, *amouimus* AV.

*ignes* ψ, *egros* A, *aegros* V.

12. *furta* Baehrens.

13. *meditantes* ψ, *meditantis* AV.

16. *tacito* Par.

27. *nequicquam* ψ, *nec quicquam* AV.

29. *at uobis* ψ, *atque nobis* AV.

### III. vii. = IV. i., PANEGYRICUS MESSALLAE, 39 sqq.

(= 18)

39. *quis te* F, *quisque tibi* AV. *castrisue* Par, *cartis ne* AV.

40. *hic aut hic* F, *hec aut hec* Par, *hic aut* AV.



44. *prona nec--illa* stands after 41 in the MSS. But, as I pointed out, *Classical Review*, 14. (1900) p. 296 the sentence 'qualis—orbe' expands the meaning of *iusta*, a true and sensitive balance, and of this couplet v. 44 is a further development.

55. *nec* ψ, *non* AV. *lothos* F, *ciclops* AV, a gloss on *incola*. *captos* F Scal., *tempus* AV, *coeptos* ψ edd. But *captos* is clearly right, as it refers to the detaining power of the lotos; cf. Prop. 3. 12. 27 'lotosque herbaeque tenaces' and especially Culex 125 *sqq.* 'impia lotos, | impia quae socios Ithaci maerentis abegit, (cf. *auertere*) | hospita dum nimia tenuit dulcedine captos.' *auertere* ψ, *uertere* A, *conuertere* V.

56. *et* ψ, omitted by AV.

60. *gelida* ψ, *gelidos* AV. *artacie* ψ, *artacre* A. *irrigat* AV (cf. 16. 96), *erigit* F, which appears to have come from *irrigat*.

63. *captas*, Baehrens' uncertain conjecture, would be an improvement on *aptaque*.

68. *ius diceret* ed. for the corrupt *discurreret* of the MSS. See *J. Phil.* 28. 158.

*umbris* ψ, *undis* AV.

70. *inter geminae* F, *terminae* AV.

71. *ore* F, *orbe* AV.

72. *fera* ψ, *freta* AV.

73. *more* ψ, *in ore* AV.

77. *Calipsus* ψ, *Calipsos* AV.

78. *erroris* F, *errorum* AV.

### III. viii. = IV. ii. (= 19)

14. *mille habet* ψ, *mille hunc* AV.

23. *haec sumet* F, *hoc sumet* AV.

24. *choro* ψ, *thoro* AV.

### III. x. = IV. iv. (= 20)

6. *candida* ψ, *pallida* AV from 'pallentes' in 5.

8. *rapidis* V, *rabidis* A.

17. *at* V, *ac* A.

21 *sq.* This couplet follows 16 in AV: the displacement was corrected by ψ. 'Skipping' was the cause of the error

due to the homoiographon *-lla tibi* in both pentameters, cf. 11. 78 n.

24. *gratus* Martignon, *laetus* AV, *lautus* Heins.

## III. xii. = IV. vi. (= 21)

3. *lota* Canter, *tota* AV.

5. *ornandi* ψ, *orandi* AV.

7. *neu quis* F, *ne nos* AV.

10. *cuiquam* ψ, *cuidam* AV.

13. *que* ψ edd., om. AV.

14 *sq. fit* ψ, *sic* AV. I have removed the full stop which the vulgate has after *mero*. The MS reading in the next line *praecipit et* was rightly restored by Vahlen. *optet* ψ, *optat* AV.

19. *sis* (F.) *Iuno* Gruppe, *si iuueni* AV.

*ut* added by Eberz.

20. *adsit* ψ, *esset* AV, a corruption from *assit*.

## III. = xiv. IV. viii. (= 22)

4. *arretino* ψ, *aretino* AV, *Reatino* Huschke.

*Arnus* ψ for *amnis* AV is not improbable.

6. *non* ψ, *neu* AV.

*saeue* Unger, *saepe* AV. This change is a stop-gap. The true reading is quite uncertain. In *J. Phil.* 25. p. 64 I proposed and defended *semper amice viae*, taking *viae* as dat. and *amice* as used in the sense of *dedite*; cf. 1. 8 'nec *semper longae deditus esse viae*.'

8. *quam uis*—*sinit* Statius (and ed. independently), *quam uis*—*sinis* AV.

## III. xvii. = IV. xi. (= 23)

1. *pia cura* ψ, *placitura* AV.

5. *at* F, *ha* or *ah* AV. *cum* ψ, *quid* AV, *si* ψ.

6. *lento* F, *leto* A, *lecto* V.

## III. xix. = IV. ii. xiii. (= 25)

3. *mihi* ψ, *modo* AV; cf. supra p. 208.

8. *ille* ψ, *ipse* AV which has been defended in the sense

of *solus*, a use of *ipse* which has yet to be established for classical times.

16. *mihi* Scaliger, *tibi* AV, which F. Wilhelm defends, comparing Plaut. *Amphitruo* 831 'Per supremi regis regnum iure et matrem familias Iunonem quam me uereri et metuere par maxime' (*Alcmena loquitur*). (This is of course a different Iuno.)

17. *cedo* F, *credo* AV.

18. *proderat* F, *prodeat* AV.

21. *facias* L. Mueller, *faciam* AV.

23. *considam* F, *confidam* AV.

24. *haec* ψ, *nec* AV.

### OVID, *Amores* III. ix. (= 26)

3. *elegeia* the MSS, which Lachmann corrected.

7. *inuersam* Francius which would make the supposed allusion clearer. So at *Consol. ad Liviam* 141 sq. 'quos primum uidi *fascēs* in funere uidi | et uidi *inuersos* indicium-que mali' (of the funeral of Drusus) *inuersos* is a conjecture of Linderberg and Lipsius for the MS *euersos*.

28. *diffugiunt* the best MSS, which is ungrammatical. *defugiunt* Jahn and recent editors which ought to mean 'avoid' (or 'not encounter' as in *Sil. It.* 9. 427). Ovid appears not to use *diffugere* elsewhere while he has *effugere*, which is the natural word in this connexion, some fifty or sixty times. Hence I prefer it here.

46. *negent* inferior MSS for *negant*. The indicative should refer to definite persons (The distinction between *est qui* with ind. and with subj. is well known, and excellently stated in Orelli's *Horace* on I. 1. 1.) Here the *sunt qui* are mere shadows.

49 and 51. The best MSS read *hinc* which must mean 'accordingly' with a very flat sense. *hic* 'here' (at Rome not in *Corcyra*) is a necessary change.

### VITA TIBULLI.

[See Introduction, p. xvi.]

Some remarks upon the composition of this 'Biography' have already been made in Appendix A, p. 180. The most probable account of it is that it is the manufacture of a late Latin, or medieval, writer who had access to an ancient

life of Tibullus, very possibly from the pen of Suetonius. The first five lines may have been derived from this ancient source and the rest be the later writer's own composition. This would explain the circumstance that the earlier part still bears traces of being written in the classical age and has several coincidences of diction with the acknowledged works of Suetonius.

1. 1. *regalis* is corrupt and has generally been altered to *Romanus* which is very improbable. Baehrens rashly proposed *R.* (the recognised abbreviation of *Romanus*) *e Gabis*, to provide Tibullus with a birth-place. Observing that in l. 2 *ante alios* is destitute of a substantive, we may find one for it here. *egalis* appears to be merely a corruption of *equalis* and we should therefore transfer the word to its rightful place reading 'eques R(omanus)—ante alios aequalis—dilexit.' The classical acc. plur. in *-is* was very likely to puzzle a scribe.

2, 3. The MSS have *Messalam originem dilexit*. *or-* is again a classical abbreviation of *or(aforem)*, a frequent adjunct to Messalla's name, attested by inscriptions (see Dessau *Prosopographia* s.v. Messalla). For *iginem* I proposed *ingenue* (*J. Phil.* 28. 159) so as to provide *dilexit* with an adverb, and Prof. L. Purser has followed with *unice*. The choice lies between these two adverbs: either would satisfy the sense and both occur in Suetonius.

7. *utiles*. Baehrens proposed *suptiles*. But the biographer is writing from the medieval standpoint. The Sulpicia compositions would be useful models to the inditer of elegant epistles.

## Addendum

I take the opportunity of appending some corrections of places of Tibullus, etc. not comprised in the foregoing Selections.

I. ii. 7 *ianua difficilis domini*.

*dominis*; see *J. Phil.* 1902 p. 152.

v. 65 *pauper ad occultos furtim deducet amicos*.

*pauper adhuc luteos suris deducet amictus*.  
(*amictus* ψ); see *Cl. Rev.* 1900 p. 295.



- ix. 35 *sq.* illis eriperes uerbis mihi sidera caeli  
           lucere et *puras* fluminis esse uias.  
           *rubras* fulminis ( $\psi$ ) ; see *J. Phil.* 1902 p. 153.
- ib.* 45 tum miser interii stulte confisus *amari*.  
           *Amori* ; supra p. 194 n.
- ib.* 69 *ista* persuadet facies . . . ?  
           *istane* ; see *Cl. Rev.* 1900 p. 296.
- II. iii. 65 *sq.* should be read and punctuated  
           et tibi, dura seges, Nemesim quae abducis ab urbe  
           persoluat nulla semina terra fide.  
 See *J. Phil.* 1899 p. 186.
- III. vi. 3 aufer et ipse meum *pariter medicando* dolorem.  
           *pariles* *medicate* ; see *J. Phil.* 1897 p. 60.
- ib.* 8 fulserit hic niueis *Delius* alitibus.  
           *Idalis* ; see *J. Phil.* 1897 l.c.
- ib.* 19 *sqq.* should be read and punctuated  
           non uenit ex aequo nec toruus Liber in illis  
           qui se quique una uina iocosa bibunt ?  
           non uenit iratus nimium nimiumque seueris ?  
 See *J. Phil.* 1897 p. 60.
- ib.* 55 See supra Introd. p. xliv. and *J. Phil.* 1902 p. 158.
- vii. 22 hinc et *contextus* passim fluat igneus aether.  
           *praetextus* ; see *J. Phil.* 1897 p. 62.
- ix. (= IV. iii.) 4, 5.  
 Between these two lines a couplet at least has been lost.

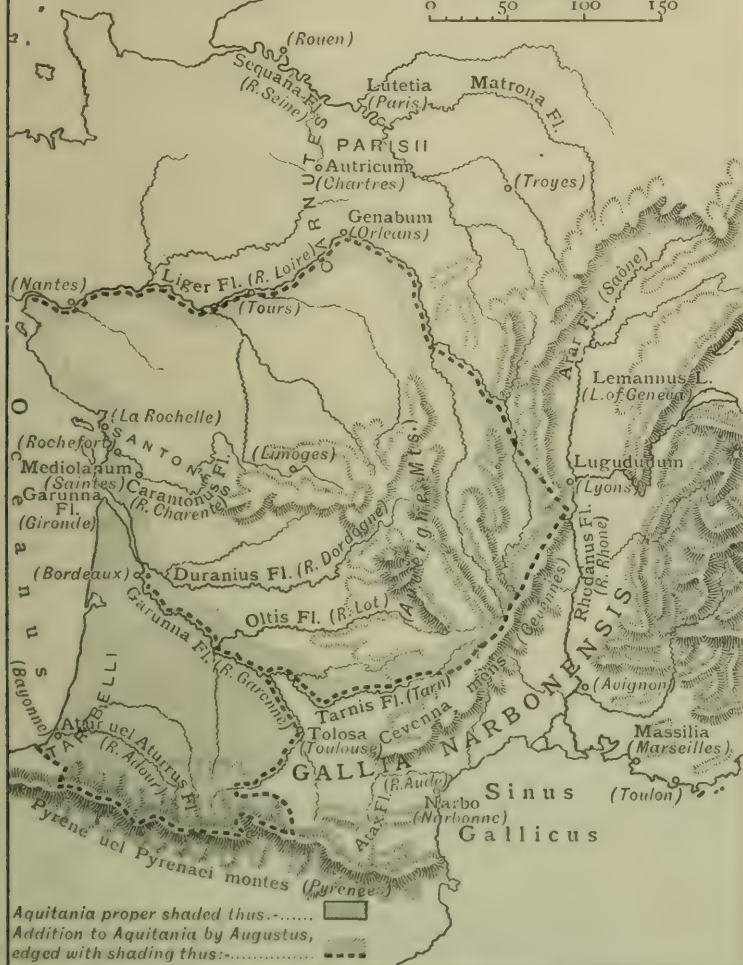
# THE TWO AQUITANIAS.

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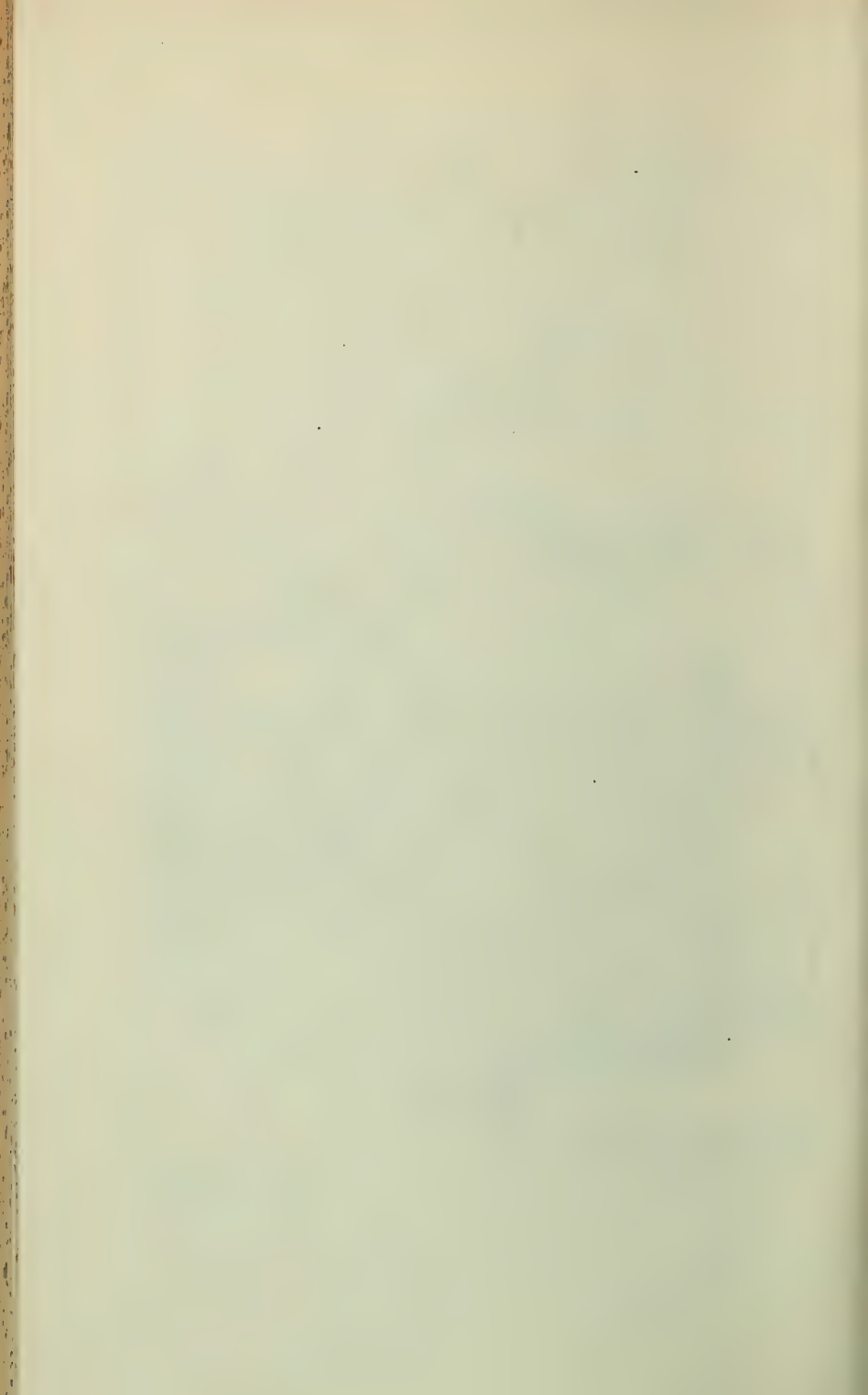
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